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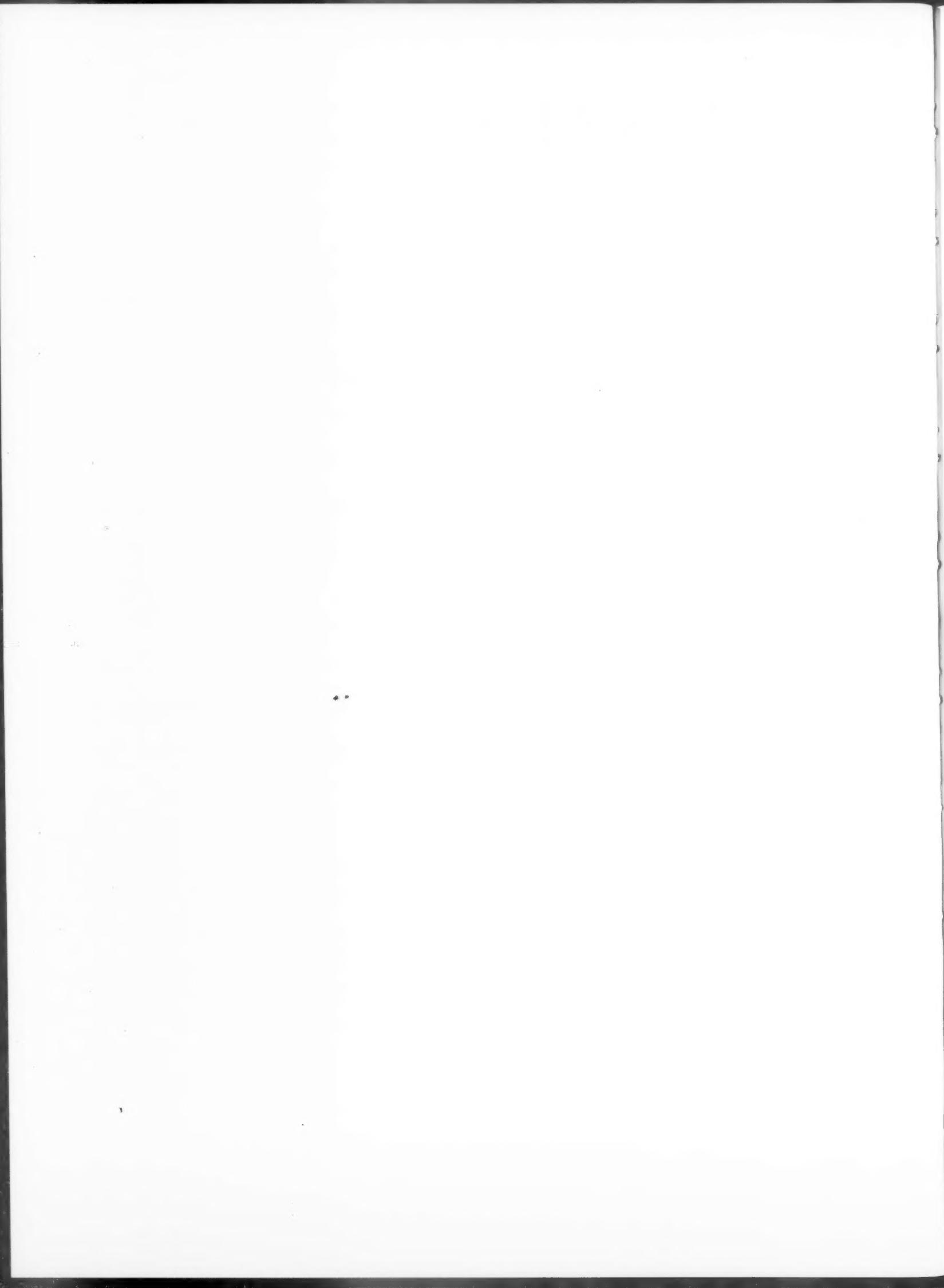
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CASTELSEPPIO AND THE BYZANTINE “RENAISSANCE”

CHARLES R. MOREY

A MAJOR premise in a great deal of contemporary writing on Byzantine art is the existence in the tenth century of a renaissance of antique style. Since monumental painting and sculpture have left us almost no examples of this period, the “renaissance” is predicated on works of the minor arts, miniatures and ivories, whose dating, unfortunately, is a matter of dispute. The concept was first stated in uncompromising form by Kondakoff in his *Histoire de l'art byzantin* of 1891, and was based on the undoubted antique quality of the fourteen miniatures of Paris gr. 139, the so-called Paris Psalter, together with the drawings of the Joshua Roll of the Vatican Library, and on the assumption that these miniatures and drawings are contemporary with the tenth century texts that accompany them. The latter assumption had however already been impaired by Bordier's¹ analysis of the Paris Psalter, which showed that (1) the versos of the miniatures are blank, indicating insertion in the text; (2) the ornament of their borders is radically different from that of the text pages; (3) the leaves containing the miniatures have been cut to fit the format of the text pages; (4) the gold used in the miniatures is of different quality from that employed in the ornament of the text. Rudolf Berliner re-examined the manuscript in 1911² and found evidence of the priority of the miniatures over the text in the retouching of the paintings and their inscriptions. As for the drawings of the Joshua Roll, the Vatican edition of 1905³ pronounced them independent of the tenth century text, and assigned to them a general dating in the VII-VIII centuries.

The ivories that have been cited as examples of the “renaissance” are mainly those which were classified by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, in their highly useful corpus of Byzantine ivories⁴ in the “Romanos” and “pictorial” groups, and the “rosette” caskets. The “Romanos” group takes its name from a plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris on which Christ is represented in the act of crowning an emperor Romanos and his empress Eudocia, an imperial pair formerly recognized as Romanos IV, emperor from 1068, and his consort. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, following Peirce and Tyler, identified the emperor as Romanos II, crowned in 945, because the plaque seemed to be copied by another in the Musée de Cluny at Paris which bears a garbled Latin inscription naming Otto II, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 973, and the empress Theophano. The previous identification of the emperor on the Romanos plaque was restored by Cardinal Mercati's reading of its original Greek inscription (not completely deciphered by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann) which showed the ivory to be an ex-voto of a Greek monk and the Latin inscription consequently a later addition. Since the Romanos plaque is the principal basis for dating the “Romanos” group in Goldschmidt and Weitzmann's corpus,⁵ the ivories of this group revert to the eleventh century, where in any case their stylistic affinity with the mosaics and miniatures of that period would place them. Certain of the “pictorial” ivories betray a relation to miniatures in the Menologium of Basil II (ca. 1000), which would place them late in the tenth or in the eleventh

1. *Description des miniatures et des ornements des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 1883, p. 4.

2. *Zur Datierung der Miniaturen des Cod. Par. gr. 139*, Weida i. Th., 1911.

3. *Il Rotolo di Giosuè: codice Pal. gr. 431*, Milan, 1905.

4. *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinkulturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1932.

5. The only other competent evidence for dating the group in the tenth century is furnished by the ivories (assigned to this group by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann) which decorate the prayerbooks of Henry II and Kunigunde, dating therefore before 1002-1012. But these differ from the rest of the group in style and are of somewhat doubtful Byzantine provenance.

century, and the "rosette" caskets, allied in style, would follow them in date. The antique reminiscences of these groups reveal so much misunderstanding of the antique motifs they copy as hardly to constitute evidence for a "renaissance." Even less "antique" is the "Triptych" group, of distinctly inferior style, but certainly of the tenth century by reason of the appearance of several of its members on the bindings of Western manuscripts of the late tenth and eleventh centuries. The "Nicephoros" group, aside from the reliquary of Cortona (possibly to be dated in the reign of Nicephoros Phocas), need not, from the evidence available, antedate the eleventh century.⁶

As for the miniatures of manuscripts, and leaving *sub judice* the illustrations of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll, there is not enough, among the scattered reminiscences of antiquity in Byzantine manuscript miniatures that can be assigned without question to the tenth century, to justify the concept of a "renaissance." It could hardly be predicated on the antique motifs copied, often with misunderstanding or translation into Byzantine terms, by the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris gr. 510), the Leo Bible (Vat. Reg. gr. 1), Stavronikita 43 (Mt. Athos), Vienna theol. gr. 240, and the Prophet manuscript of Turin (cod. B.1.2). The "antiques" of the Homilies of Gregory and the Leo Bible are part of the industrious copying and adaptation from earlier manuscript models which the illustrators of these two codices abundantly betray and, as will appear later, there is some evidence to show that among these models was the Paris Psalter itself and illustrated manuscripts of its type and school. The "antique" motifs employed by the artists of these manuscripts of the late ninth and early tenth centuries exhibit again and again their inability to understand and handle Hellenistic architectural perspective and space composition in general. The Pompeian "garden wall" which provides the background for the Stavronikita Evangelists has lost its Hellenistic diagonal perspective and become, at least in the case of three out of the four portraits of the Evangelists, a normal mid-Byzantine wall, characteristically symmetrical and exedral. The same motif is tooled into the gold background of the Vienna Evangelists, leaving them in a characteristic Byzantine vacuum.⁷ The most ancient-looking heads among these examples are those of the Prophets of Turin, but their antique models, as shown by head-structure, treatment of beard, and the clavi on their tunics, cannot antedate late antiquity.

The profound distinction between the foregoing examples and the art of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll lies precisely in the fact that the artists of these two manuscripts quite evidently are using Hellenistic style with authentic understanding,⁸ while the carvers of the ivory caskets and "pictorial" reliefs, and their contemporaries who illustrate the manuscripts, are adapting a manner whose mechanics in their period was no longer understood. Characteristic of this defect is the Byzantine substitution of flat background for the diagonal perspective which is the hallmark of the illusionistic tradition. The head master's miniatures of the Psalter and the drawings of the Roll reveal on the other hand a kinship, in their grasp of antique form and composition, with the models they are copying. Such comprehension of Hellenistic style cannot be documented by existing works of unquestioned dating in the tenth century. To give reality to the "Macedonian renaissance" the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and the drawings of the Joshua Roll are indispensable, and must be proved to be of the tenth century. What follows is a summary of what evidence has been offered in favor of this dating.

The first serious effort in this direction was made by Lietzmann with reference to the Roll.⁹ He noted the lacunae (blank spaces apparently due to illegible words or phrases in the original) in the

6. For a general revision of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann's chronology of the Byzantine ivories, cf. the review of their corpus by A. S. Keck and the present writer, *ART BULLETIN*, XVII (1935), pp. 397ff.

7. The same is done for the architectural background of the portrait of John in Paris Cois. 195, whose ornament is so close to that of the borders of the miniatures of the Paris Psalter as to indicate imitation. The Prophet manuscript of

the Vatican (Chis. R. VIII. 54), sometimes cited as an example of the "renaissance," is of uncertain date.

8. This applies only to the head master of the atelier which produced the miniatures of the Psalter; his assistants exhibit, in differing degree, the same unfamiliarity in handling the style as the examples cited above.

9. "Zur Datierung der Josuарolle," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften, Festschrift H. Degering*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 181.

excerpts from the Book of Joshua which the scribe of the tenth century has written in upon the Roll to explain the drawings, and, assuming that the lacunae are due to a faulty text copied along with the drawings from an earlier roll similarly inscribed, deduced from this that both drawings and text of the Roll were copied in the tenth century. Against this Weitzmann has observed that the scribe may have excerpted from a separate text, fuller, but faulty enough to explain the lacunae. But even assuming with Lietzmann that the present excerpted text was made for the original roll, it is quite possible that it was written on a separate roll or codex which was copied when damaged or faded by age by the scribe who wrote it in on the present Rotulus in the tenth century. This is the more likely since the text is obviously too long for accommodation on the present Roll, and had to be written in at times within the drawings (see p. 189). Lietzmann's argument is therefore incomplete and has not proved the tenth century dating of the drawings.

The absence, in tenth century art, of parallels to the Hellenism of the figures in the Psalter and the Roll, has produced two novel methods of explaining them as artificial constructions of the tenth century after antique models. Grünwald introduced the first, the "synthetic" method,¹⁰ with reference to the personification of Night in the Paris Psalter's miniature of *The Prayer of Isaiah* (Fig. 11), which he found was copied as to her upper part from a Selene in an Endymion scene on a sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum at Rome and, as to the rest, from an antique figure of the type of a Demeter in the Berlin Museum. The lower part of Selene's figure, unused for Night, served for the figure of Isaiah. The mountain-god Bethlehem of the miniature of *David as Harper* (Fig. 10) in the Psalter was copied from the sleeping Endymion of the sarcophagus, which also furnished the model for the dog in the Psalter's picture. Since these miniatures of the Psalter are in Grünwald's view dependent on the sarcophagus, they cannot be copied from an earlier manuscript model but must be original with the "renaissance" of the tenth century. Aside from the dubious "synthetic" construction of Night and Isaiah, this novel argument is badly impaired by the almost complete restoration of the dog on the sarcophagus, and by the difficulty of explaining how the Greek illustrator of the Psalter happened on a sarcophagus obviously Italian in origin and history.

The "synthetic" explanation was also used by Weitzmann in his argument for a tenth century dating of the Paris Psalter's miniatures,¹¹ although he substitutes for Grünwald's Demeter a Medea from a Pompeian fresco as the type used for the lower half of Night, and extends the "synthetic" construction to other figures, particularly the personifications. These present a difficulty for the tenth century, since mid-Byzantine religious art ordinarily eschews such pagan survivals except in the case of faithful copies of very early archetypes like the Octateuchs and copies from the Psalter itself or its archetype. Weitzmann disposes of them by a second method added to the "synthetic" device, the "insertion" method, which while limited to the personifications in the article just cited, becomes a major instrument in his later writing on the Psalter and the Roll. He sees in the miniatures of the Psalter (or in those of a slightly earlier manuscript from which they were copied¹²) a "Byzantine core," drawing its figures and scenes from earlier Byzantine manuscripts, into which were inserted *antikisierende Bestandteile*, mainly personifications, which themselves were often made up from parts of antique types. The personifications are claimed to be insertions principally because they are not known in antiquity by the labels they bear in the Psalter, and also because, unlike antique personifications, they take an active part in their episodes. However, the personifications of Discovery and Reflection participate in what action there is in the miniatures of the Dioscurides of Vienna (early sixth century) and the wide employment in late antiquity of such personifications of abstract ideas as troubled Weitzmann has been abundantly demonstrated by the plethora of such allegories in the recently uncovered mosaic pavements of Antioch.

10. "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pariser Psalters," *Byzantinische Studien, Schriften der philosophischen Fakultät der deutschen Universität Prag*, Heft 1, 1927.

11. *Jahrbuch für Kunsthissenschaft*, 1929, pp. 178ff.

12. In his monograph *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton, 1948, p. 75), he assumes an illustrated psalter of the early tenth century as the model.

The comparisons with mid-Byzantine miniatures which Weitzmann makes in support of his dating of the Psalter are not cogent except in the case of the Homilies of Gregory (Paris gr. 510; end of the ninth century), some of whose miniatures show such striking resemblance to some of those of the Psalter that Weitzmann canvassed the possibility of a relation of copy to model. Since in such case he would regard the Homilies as providing the model, he derived from this relation a specific argument advanced outside of his hypothesis of synthetic construction and insertion of figures, for a tenth century dating of the Psalter. Here of course we are confronted with the possibility of a reverse relation, of which more later, in which the Homilies copy the Psalter.

Hugo Buchthal's monograph on the Paris Psalter¹³ corrected Weitzmann's theory of the "insertion" of the personifications, citing instances of the use of most of them in antiquity. He also could not accept the "synthetic" construction of these Hellenistic types, nor the derivation implied in Weitzmann's article, of corresponding miniatures of the Psalter from certain illustrations in the Gregory. But while rejecting this presumptive evidence for a tenth century dating of the Psalter's pictures, he nevertheless maintained the date, and we owe to him our most eloquent characterization of the putative "renaissance." "Here, ancient Greek art comes to an end, as it were, with a development very similar to that which many centuries ago led to its classic stage in the fifth century B.C. . . . For one brief moment only, Byzantine art culminated in a glorious synthesis of the classical and the Christian." The "renaissance" was brief indeed, disappearing at the end of the tenth century: "in the Menologium of Basil II . . . the synthesis which had rendered possible the approximation of the Paris Psalter miniatures to classical painting is gone forever."¹⁴ For Buchthal's reconstruction of the archetypes of the Psalter's miniatures, too complicated for repetition here, the reader may be referred to his monograph and the writer's review cited in note 13. On the question of date which concerns us, Buchthal's remarks are negative, rejecting alike Weitzmann's implication of the Psalter's dependence on Paris 510 and Miss Frantz's evidence for the early dating of the Paris miniatures based on ornament (of which more later), except for the placing of the Psalter in the tenth century in accordance with his own hypothetical construction of the evolution of early Byzantine style. He agrees with Weitzmann that the miniatures cannot be dated by affinity of style with the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua at Rome, of the VII-VIII centuries,¹⁵ but while he stresses the "massive solidity and rigid compactness" of the frescoes in contrast to the "soft drawing" of the Psalter, Weitzmann reached the same conclusion by a quite opposite comparison of the *flächige* style of the frescoes vs. the "more plastic" manner of the miniatures.

The task of integrating the Joshua Roll into the "renaissance" was recently undertaken by Weitzmann in his monograph, *The Joshua Roll: A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, already cited in note 12. For this exhibition of rich scholarship, which gives us the first publication of the Roll in English, and for Buchthal's equally useful reproduction of the miniatures of the Psalter, students of mediaeval art have reason to be grateful, whatever be the judgment on the conclusions drawn from the indispensable assemblage of pertinent data that both volumes afford. In Weitzmann's monograph, the "synthetic" method is in abeyance, but the doctrine of insertion of *antikisierende Bestandteile* has reached a surprising extension. To him, the Roll's illustration of Joshua's campaign in Palestine is an original creation of the tenth century, text and drawings being planned together. The drawings are a pasticcio made up of a narrative core borrowed from an early Octateuch cycle into which the artist has "inserted" the illusionistic landscape, the "Pompeian" architectural motifs, and the personifications, these "antiques" being copied from ancient illustrated

13. *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, London, 1938. For more detailed criticism of this work and Weitzmann's article on the same subject, cf. the writer's review of both in *Speculum*, XIV (1939), pp. 139ff.

14. Meyer Schapiro (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1949, pp. 168, 176) gives a quite different estimate of the style of the

Psalter's miniatures: "a much overrated art . . . [an] unmatured, hybrid style . . . a crisis in Byzantine art, a momentary deflection from its highest capacities and aims."

15. The first to suggest this relation was Myrtilla Avery: "The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua," *ART BULLETIN*, VII (1924-1925), pp. 131ff.

manuscripts which the draughtsman of the Roll found in the imperial libraries of Constantinople. The lost Octateuch archetype is in Weitzmann's opinion most faithfully reproduced by the illustrations of an Octateuch in the Vatican Library, of the eleventh century (gr. 747), and deviations therefrom by the Roll are consequently errors, corrections, or modifications incident to the compilation of the pasticcio of the tenth century. The purpose suggested for this extraordinary composition was to provide a manuscript imitation, using Joshua's conquest as a symbol of Byzantine military prowess, of the triumphal columns of the capital, in honor of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, to whose interest in classical antiquity the initiative may be ascribed.¹⁶

Like Grünewald's and Weitzmann's "synthetic" explanation of the construction of figures in the Psalter from antique models, the "insertion" process, particularly on this elaborate scale, does not appeal *prima facie* to the critical intelligence, and Weitzmann himself is aware of its complication, saying of the Roll's artist that "he succeeded in fusing the heterogeneous elements into a panoramic frieze composition so effectively that they can be detected only after careful analysis and comparison with sister manuscripts." Certainly the consistent style and fluent narrative of the Roll do not suggest a fusion of heterogeneous elements.

Weitzmann's thesis depends on two premises: that the artist of the Roll has made arbitrary changes and errors in using his archetypal Octateuch, which in Weitzmann's opinion is faithfully followed by Vat. gr. 747, and, second, that the scribe of the tenth century who wrote in the extracts from the Book of Joshua to explain the drawings worked in close collaboration with the artist. These assumptions have been subjected to searching criticism by Dimitri Tsilos, in a recent article to which the reader may be referred,¹⁷ and they do not coincide with the evidence.

The Roll, for instance, represents the capture and judgment of the King of Ai (Fig. 1) in accordance with the text of the Septuagint: *καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαὶ συνέλαβον ζῶντα καὶ προσήγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν*. Above, the soldiers of Joshua have seized the king, identified by the clavi on his tunic, and below, in good Hellenistic continuous narrative, he is dragged before Joshua. The latter group also illustrates the episode in Vat. gr. 747 (Fig. 2), but this illustrator repeats it with slight modification and no motivation by the text, in an illustration of the destruction of the city of Ai (Fig. 4). Weitzmann nevertheless considers this interpolated group archetypal. He has mistaken the action of the soldier dragging the king in the repeated group of Vat. gr. 747 for a decapitation (an error pointed out by Tsilos) and takes the picture as a sort of token illustration of the killing of the people of Ai.¹⁸ In fact, he is so sure that the Vatican Octateuch is right and the Roll wrong, that he assumes the capture of the king in the Roll to be a mistaken version of the Octateuch's interpolated scene, in which "the captive has been changed to the King of Ai."

The *Crossing of Jordan* (Fig. 7) in the Roll is characterized by Weitzmann as a "heterogeneous and seemingly meaningless composition." This is based on the assumption that the group of men emerging behind the mountain slope are laying down the stones picked up from the bed of Jordan, a subsequent action which Weitzmann believes was mistakenly transferred to this point in the nar-

16. This last hypothesis is unsupported by evidence and may be disregarded in our discussion of date. The parallels suggested between the Roll and the imperial columns are in any case familiar Hellenistic or late antique motifs which would be consistent with any date later than the columns which might be assigned to the Roll.

Weitzmann's version of the supposed manuscript imitation of a triumphal column has at least avoided a difficulty inherent in Schapiro's presentation of the same hypothesis (*Gaz. B.-A.*, 1949, pp. 161-176). The latter has accepted Lietzmann's argument that the Roll in its present inscribed state was copied, text and pictures together, from an earlier illustrated roll with inscribed text. Two queries suggest themselves: (1) assuming with both Weitzmann and Schapiro the official and ceremonial character of the present Roll as a memorial of Byzantine military successes in Asia Minor,

Syria, and Palestine in the tenth century, how can one explain in a work of so serious intent the haste and carelessness of the scribe, who invades the drawings with his script, leaves blanks where he could not read his model, makes many errors and only occasionally corrects them, and sometimes inserts the wrong label or writes in the wrong verse? (2) assuming with Schapiro an earlier inscribed model, identical with the present Roll in appearance and, presumably, on the same premises, in purpose, what military achievements was the original rotulus meant to commemorate?

17. "The Joshua Roll: Original or Copy?" *ART BULLETIN*, XXXII (1950), pp. 275ff.

18. The other Octateuch of the Vatican (gr. 746, of the twelfth century) also uses the transposed group to illustrate the annihilation of Ai, and misinterprets the action of the soldier, rendering it as an actual decapitation.

rative. The assumption is arbitrary, since there is nothing in the drawing of the group of men, some stooping, some with stones upon their shoulders, to prevent its natural interpretation as illustrating the command of Joshua in Chap. iv: 5: "Take you up every man of you a stone upon his shoulder," and Tselos' comparison with the Octateuch illustrations has made this interpretation the more plausible.¹⁹ While the Octateuchs make an amusing attempt to give the Jordan in this episode a realistic rendering, the Roll indicates the river in Hellenistic fashion with a river-god (an "error" in Weitzmann's opinion). Below the figure of Jordan the men pick up the stones and clearly bear them on their shoulders, and the narrative proceeds consistently with the *Crossing*: the priests bearing the Ark, the men bearing the stones, and then "the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, [who] passed over armed" (Joshua iv: 12).²⁰ The incident illustrated in the Octateuchs, of the setting-up of twelve stones in Jordan's bed (mistaken by Weitzmann in Vat. gr. 747, according to Tselos, for the "laying-down" of the stones), is omitted by the Roll, which keeps the narrative consistently within the theme of bringing the stones from the bed of Jordan for the building of the altar in Gilgal, duly erected by Joshua in the termination of the episode.

The Roll has also omitted the Rahab interlude in its narrative of the attack on Jericho, whose walls fall at the sound of the trumpets of the priests, and the city burns, in due accordance with the text of Chap. vi, although Weitzmann unaccountably calls the rendering of the Roll "iconographically corrupt." The following scene depicts in continuous method the dispatch of the spies to Ai (Fig. 3), representing the pair first before Joshua receiving their orders, then again on their way, and finally standing before Joshua on their return (Fig. 5). This episode was recognized as the sending of the spies to Ai by the scribe, who wrote in vv. 2-3 of Chap. vii. The Octateuchs repeat the iconography of the Roll, but mistake the messengers for those of Chap. vi: 21-22 who were sent into Jericho to bring out Rahab and her family unharmed, and hence place the miniatures near those verses. Vat. gr. 747 carries the misunderstanding even further; evidently confused by four messengers on their departure and two on their return, the illustrator reduced them (or increased them) to three (Fig. 6), and under the same impression that the spies had to do with Rahab, he inserts her figure, with some obvious crowding, in the picture of their return (Fig. 8). His ineptitude here, as in the *Capture of the King of Ai*, does not support Weitzmann's confidence in the archetypal authority of Vat. gr. 747.²¹

Other "errors" of which the Roll is accused prove rather on examination to be evidence of the Hellenistic quality of the Roll's illustration, as in the dignified rather than humiliated figure of Achan before Joshua in judgment, and the veiled hands of the Gibeonites, or again the result of overconfidence in the archetypal value of Vat. gr. 747, which has involved Weitzmann in complicated explanations of the "errors" wherewith the Roll differs from the Vatican Octateuch (though consistently illustrating the text) in the Fall of Jericho and the sack of Ai.²²

The second assumption, of a close cooperation between artist and scribe, is impaired by the discrepancies between the excerpts and the illustration noted by both Tselos and Weitzmann. There is no reason (as Tselos points out) why the scribe should have included v. 13 of Chap. iv in his

19. Tselos, *op.cit.*, pp. 282ff. The tenth century scribe recognized the action thus, writing in half of v. 17 of Chap. iii: *καὶ ἐστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἀλροντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου ἐπὶ ἔηρᾶς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ πάντες οἱ νιοὶ Τσαρὴλ διέβανον διὰ ἔηρᾶς*, and a syncopated version of iv: 1-3 which emphasizes the picking-up of the stones: *καὶ εἰπεν κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας ἔνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς σύνταξον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέλαβον ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐποίουν δώδεκα λίθους*.

20. The scribe thus interpreted the scene, writing in a slightly altered version of Joshua iv: 11-12 which describes the crossing in the order of the drawing (the priests bearing

the Ark, the "stones in front of them," and the armed tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh): *καὶ διέβη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου τὸν Ἰορδάνον καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ διέβησαν οἱ νιοὶ Τσαρὴλ καὶ νιοὶ Γάδ καὶ νιοὶ φυλῆς Μαασῆ ἀπεσκευασμένοι ἐμπροσθεν τῶν νιῶν Τσαρὴλ*.

21. A similar misunderstanding of a group twice represented in continuous narrative has caused Vat. gr. 747 to increase the two ambassadors of the Gibeonites to four, this due to the pair being twice seen in their first mission to Joshua on sheets xi and xii of the Roll, and evidently also in the archetype.

22. On this, cf. Tselos, *op.cit.*, pp. 285ff. and notes.

excerpts for the *Crossing of Jordan*. This verse speaks of the forty thousand who are to attack Jericho, and the campaign against Jericho is not illustrated until after the setting-up of the altar in Gilgal and the circumcision; the scribe was evidently misled by the soldiers representing the armed sons of Reuben and Gad, and the tribe of Manasseh, who head the procession crossing the river. The verse that mentions the burning of Jericho in Chap. vi is omitted, though this is the prominent feature in the drawing. No text at all is provided, in the last scene of the Roll in its present state, for the dragging of the five kings of the Amorites to Joshua.

The concept of the Roll as an original compilation of the tenth century carries with it, contrary to the view hitherto held, the assumption that it cannot be a copy of a similar roll, but only an adaptation, with insertion of landscape and personifications, of a sequence of scenes from an illustrated archetype which Weitzmann believes to be faithfully represented by Vat. gr. 747. This assumption contradicts the instances assembled by the Vatican editors and also noted by Tselos, of distortions and errors of drawing that are hard to explain on the hypothesis of original composition, but quite easily as copyist's mistakes. The ill-drawn antique stele on sheet 1 (to select one of the above instances) is quite enough to indicate bad copying or an indistinct original. This stele, as an "antique," should logically belong among Weitzmann's "insertions," but it is archetypal, appearing also in the Vatican Octateuchs, where the not too clear drawing shows that the model copied by these manuscripts (and the Roll) was indistinct. A similar reason may be ascribed for the omission of the instrument from the hands of the executioner of the King of Ai (Fig. 1).²³ The Vatican editors supply a ladder as the missing object, and the Octateuchs seem to have had the same impression, transforming the action into a man climbing a ladder and hammering a wedge into place behind the head of the hanging king. In any case, the missing instrument cannot be explained as other than a copyist's mistake, or more probably a lacuna in the model copied, which adds both to the probability that the Roll's rendering is archetypal and to the evidence that it depends on an earlier model.

Weitzmann's effort to find parallels for the style of the Roll in the tenth century leads us into the almost hopeless subjectivity of what one thinks one can see in this or that detail. But his choice of the Leo Bible²⁴ as his paradigm of the tenth century is particularly unfortunate, for the halting and niggling manner of the painter of this manuscript is in obvious contrast with the freer drawing of the Roll. For example, the impressionism of the hair of the executioner of the King of Ai, which Weitzmann finds again in the hair of a group of Israelites in a miniature of the Bible, seems to the writer to be confined to the executioner, while the hair of the Israelites is done in clearly defined locks, and good mid-Byzantine style. I should prefer a comparison of the swift horizontals with which the draughtsman of the Roll indicates the brow, nostrils, mouth, and chin of the executioner, with the same details of the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 43). The comparisons with the Leo Bible's drapery seem to me to be equally forced. The drapery of the priests bearing the Ark in the Roll, placed by Weitzmann beside that of Eleazar in the Bible, brings into relief the mid-Byzantine features of the latter: the cardboard pleating of the edge of the skirt, and the niggling points and folds that interrupt its outlines, from which the confident drawing of the Roll is free. The latter's lively style simply cannot be duplicated in any example of unquestioned date in the tenth century. Nor has Weitzmann's monograph, highly useful in many respects,²⁵ produced any material evidence for its dating.

23. Weitzmann's suggestion that the artist of the Roll introduced here a "Longinus" borrowed from a Crucifixion (without his lance!) is altogether too arbitrary an application of the "insertion" device.

24. Meyer Schapiro, in his review of Weitzmann's monograph on S. Maria di Castelseprio (ART BULLETIN, XXXIV [1952], pp. 147ff.), considers the style of the miniatures of the

Psalter and the drawings of the Roll as "close to the Leo Bible," without amplification.

25. Mention can be made here of his valuable observations on the relation of the Octateuchs, Vat. gr. 746 and Vatopedi 602, to the Roll and to Vat. gr. 747, and also his interesting reconstruction of the scenes missing from the beginning and end of the Roll.

A new element has entered into our problem with the discovery in 1944 of the frescoes of S. Maria di Castelseprio—frescoes of a quality unmatched as yet in the whole range of early mediæval murals, and yet decorating one of the humblest pieces of architecture, in one of the most remote spots, of all Italy. The close resemblance of the style of these frescoes to that of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll, especially the latter, and the dating of them in the seventh century proposed by their first editors,²⁶ has forced a re-examination of the dating of the illustrations of the Psalter and the Roll. This was promptly recognized by Weitzmann, who has embodied his own views on the dating and style of the frescoes, and their relation to the manuscripts, in a recent monograph.²⁷

He has done us a double service with this publication, first by making available a reproduction and description of the frescoes in English, and, second, by clarifying our problem with his excellent demonstration of the community of style and date existing between the Castelseprio cycle on the one hand and the Paris Psalter and the Roll on the other. From which demonstration it follows that if the frescoes can be dated, their date will determine also that of the Paris miniatures and the drawings of the Joshua Roll.

But the above community of style and date are by Weitzmann explained by an origin of the frescoes in the tenth century, which he undertakes to prove by comparisons of iconography and style, and historically by the relations of Hugo of Arles, king of Italy from 926 to 946, with the court of Constantinople. Weitzmann's preoccupation with manuscript illustration transpires in his hypothesis that the Castelseprio painter used as model an illustrated roll, accompanied perhaps by selected texts as in the Joshua Roll, assembled after the fashion of those of the Homilies of Leo the Wise devoted to the Infancy of Christ, this being also the general theme of the Castelseprio cycle. There is no physical evidence for the copying of such a manuscript model to be found in the composition and technique of the frescoes, which give instead the impression of free and original creation. But it offers Weitzmann the opportunity of explaining, by "insertion" in a manuscript model, the landscape background and architectures of the frescoes, which are even more authentically Hellenistic than in the Psalter and the Roll, and too completely integrated with the episodes to admit of interpretation as a pasticcio of the sort supposed by Weitzmann for the manuscripts.

The iconographic argument may be summarized as follows:

Annunciation (Fig. 20). For the position of the Virgin to the left, characteristic of the earliest Annunciations, and particularly those with Egyptian connection, Weitzmann cites examples among the frescoes of the underground churches of Cappadocia, an ivory in Modena dated ca. 1300 or later, and another ivory at Milan "of the tenth century."²⁸ The flying angel, for which Weitzmann cites a parallel in a lectionary of Mt. Athos (Dionysius 740), is however also an early type, found on an incised ivory pyxis of Coptic style from Kertch,²⁹ and maintaining, as the lectionary does not, the placing of the Virgin to the left. The maid-servant, for whom Weitzmann found no Byzantine example before the eleventh century, appears on a gold medallion from Adana in the Ottoman Museum at Constantinople,³⁰ whose inscriptions include an Egyptian month-name, and more obviously in an early Christian textile from Egypt in the Victoria and Albert Museum.³¹

Visitation (Fig. 20). The significant feature of the scene is the gesture of Elizabeth's hand to the Virgin's womb, which Weitzmann notes in a fresco of the catacomb of S. Valentino of the vii cen-

26. G. P. Bognetti, A. de Capitani d'Arzago, G. Chierici, *Santa Maria di Castelseprio*, Milan, 1948, Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri; 738 pp., 90 plates, of which several in color.

27. *The Fresco Cycle of Santa Maria di Castelseprio*, Princeton, 1951.

28. But this is classified by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann's corpus in the "Romano" group, whose attribution to the tenth century rests upon the mistaken dating of the plaque in the Musée de Cluny (see p. 173).

29. G. Stuhlfauth, *Die altchristlichen Elfenbeinskulpturen*,

Freiburg, 1896, p. 93, fig. 6.

30. H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, Paris, 1934, II, fig. 73b.

31. A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from the Burying-grounds of Egypt* (Victoria and Albert Museum), London, 1920-22, pl. xix (785). I am indebted for this citation to Miss Anita Martin, whose article on this detail of Castelseprio will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Marsyas*. This is without doubt the earliest existing example of the maid-servant in the Annunciation.

tury.³² The above-mentioned ivory at Milan which he cites in this connection does not show the motif, but it appears on a Coptic textile of the vi-vii centuries.³³

The Testing of the Virgin (Fig. 21). Parallels are cited in the frescoes of Cappadocia, but no Byzantine parallels earlier than the twelfth century.

The Dream of Joseph (Fig. 23). This first dream of Joseph is an early Christian scene for which Weitzmann cites as Byzantine parallels the equivalent type of Joseph's (second) Dream before the Flight into Egypt, in the Menologium of Basil II (ca. 1000) and the lectionary of Dionysius before-mentioned. The example of the Menologium (Fig. 39) is an excellent parallel, in that as in the fresco of the chapel at Castelseprio the scene is located in an open landscape. It may be noted that the same location of the scene is implied by the rendering (Fig. 29) on the Cathedra of Maximianus of the sixth century, in that no interior is indicated. But the iconographic similarity here of Castelseprio to the Menologium is close, as also in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi*. These identities are however accompanied in the Menologium by a change of style, marked by the introduction of landscape, which will be discussed later as throwing significant light on such coincidences of iconography.

The Journey to Bethlehem (Fig. 24). The figures and their arrangement are early, being found on the enameled cross of Paschal I (817-824) in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library. Weitzmann cites this example and the Cappadocian frescoes, but in Byzantine art only the mosaic of the fourteenth century at Kahrie-Djami in Constantinople.³⁴

The Nativity (Fig. 22). The significant feature, the doubting midwife holding out her withered hand supported by the other to the Virgin or the Child, is not found in this form after the eighth century. The examples cited by Weitzmann, of the tenth and twelfth centuries respectively (a fresco of S. Sebastiano al Palatino and the doors of Benevento), show instead a suppliant gesture with both hands extended (see p. 191).

The Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 22). The combination of this scene with the *Nativity*, as seen here at Castelseprio (with its particular motifs of the descending angel half-hidden by the mountain slope, and a shepherd leaning on a staff), is not, as Weitzmann implies (p. 58), original with mid-Byzantine art.³⁵ But it enters Byzantine art in the tenth century, along with the stylistic change noted above, and is illustrated by a miniature of the Menologium of Basil II (Fig. 37).

The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 26). Here again the frescoes show a detail—the Virgin seated on a rock instead of a throne—which enters Byzantine art, so far as existing examples show, in the tenth century (Menologium, Fig. 38), and again in connection with the above-mentioned introduction of landscape.

The Presentation (Fig. 25). For the positions of Anna, Simeon, Mary with the Child, and Joseph, Weitzmann again cites an early parallel (the enameled cross of Paschal I), but for Byzantine art an example of the XIII-XIV centuries, a miniature in a psalter of Berlin. The striking features of the scene—the extreme age indicated for Simeon, and the group of priests behind Joseph—find parallels only in early Christian art. The group of priests appears in the *Presentation* of the arch-mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (v century), and Choricius' description of the lost mosaics of St. Sergius at Gaza, of the sixth century, makes special mention of a Simeon "bent with age."³⁶

32. There seems no reason to doubt the attribution of this fresco, by Wilpert and Marucchi, to the restorations carried on at S. Valentino by Pope Theodore (642-649).

33. Cited by Schapiro in the review of Weitzmann above-mentioned (note 33, from Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 379). The gesture, described by Schapiro as "unclear," seems certain. This again would be the earliest example we know of the motif.

34. Schapiro, in the review cited, has pointed out that the Pseudo-Matthew motif of the colloquy between Joseph and Mary, indicated by the turning of her head and the speaking

gesture of Joseph, is already portrayed in the same fashion on the early Christian Stroganoff ivory (p. 154).

35. The half-hidden figure of the angel is already found on a relief from Carthage (cited by Weitzmann) of early Christian date, and Grimaldi's sketch of the lost mosaic of the Nativity in the chapel of John VII in Old St. Peter's (early VIII century) indicates pretty much the same composition which we have at Castelseprio, with the angel descending, and two shepherds, one of them with a staff.

36. On the cross pendant from the conch in the *Presentation*, see Schapiro's review, note 80. Of the examples he cites, the

The iconographic parallels cited by Weitzmann in the earlier frescoes of Cappadocia might quite as well be added to the evidence for an early date of the cycle of Castelseprio, since the themes in these Anatolian churches, until the eleventh century, are notoriously archaic.³⁷ From his mid-Byzantine parallels, significance can be found only in the three motifs that appear in the Menologium of Basil II (the *Dream of Joseph* in an open landscape; the combination of *Annunciation to the Shepherds* with the *Nativity*; the Virgin seated on a rock in the *Adoration of the Magi*; Figs. 37-39). But these appear in connection with the introduction in the tenth century, for the first time in Byzantine painting, of a much-conventionalized imitation of the lively movement and illusionistic landscape so competently handled, with so authentic Hellenistic feeling, by the head master of the atelier which produced the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, the draughtsman of the Joshua Roll, and the painter of Castelseprio. The landscape and movement of the Menologium impress one as a brittle imitation of models which just such works as these three cycles of painting might have supplied.³⁸ The inference is imposed that the iconographic innovations which accompany this new style in the Menologium entered the art of Constantinople in the wake of this stylistic change, and were derived from the same school of style and iconography which is represented by the paintings of Castelseprio. The Menologium's three coincidences with the iconography of Castelseprio are therefore no argument for a tenth century dating of the frescoes: the *Dream of Joseph* is conceived as located in the open on the Cathedra of Maximianus; the association of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* with the *Nativity* is already accomplished in the mosaics of John VII's oratory; the seating of the Virgin on a rock in the *Adoration of the Magi* may thus well be another pre-iconoclastic motif adopted by mid-Byzantine art from the same source that furnished the models for its curious landscape.³⁹

In the matter of historical background, Weitzmann opposes to the formidable documentation of Bognetti in favor of a dating in the seventh century, the relations of Hugo of Provence, king of Italy from 926 to 946, with the Byzantine court; relations sufficiently close to warrant Byzantine embassies to Hugo in 935 and 942, and the giving in marriage of Hugo's daughter Berta (by one of his concubines) to the young Romanus II in 944. This baby girl (the groom in this union was six years old at the time, and the bride four; she died at the age of eight) took the name Eudocia at her betrothal, and is the "empress" who figures in the misdating of the ivory plaque of the Musée de Cluny and the consequent error in the chronology of the "Romanos" group of ivories (see p. 173). The frescoes of Castelseprio, in this historical setting, would then be the work of an artist from Constantinople invited to Italy by King Hugo. One of the graffiti cut into the lower border of the frescoes (text fig. 1, e) and recording the ordination of a deacon, mentions Ardericus, archbishop of Milan from 938 to 945, and gives us our only material and certain *terminus ad quem* for dating the cycle. The reign of Hugo is thus not an impossible date. But it is difficult to see why an exceptionally gifted painter should have been called from Constantinople to decorate this tiny chapel in a remote corner of Lombardy, and also difficult to understand why, in a church so actively served as to merit such decoration, the frescoes should have been allowed to be marred by such graffiti so soon after completion. Bognetti's thesis is the more plausible: that the frescoes were painted by one of the Eastern refugees from the Persian and Arab conquest of the East in the seventh century, who was attached to one of the missions supported by Rome at that time in Lombard territory, and conceivably manned by such displaced ecclesiastics. The appearance of an exotic Greek style in

best parallel is the cross from Akhmim in Mainz, of shape similar to that of Castelseprio and with the same terminal knobs. It should be added, however, that these terminal knobs are particularly characteristic of early Christian crosses found in Egypt.

37. The Cappadocian examples are not included in his final summation of Byzantine parallels.

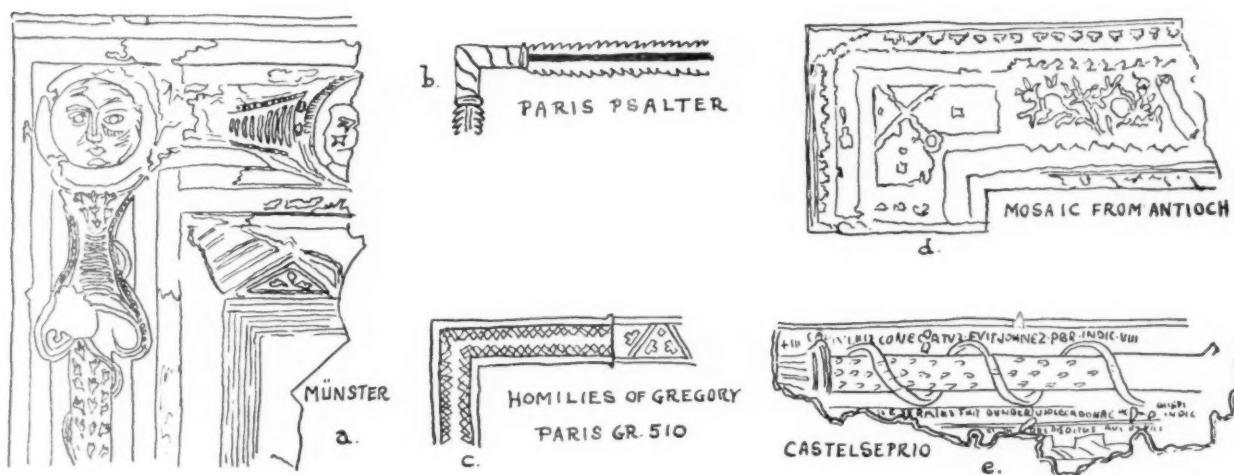
38. The miniature in the Menologium of Joshua's meeting with the angel before Jericho reveals an obvious relation to

the same scene in the Roll (illustrated in *Speculum*, xiv, 1939, p. 146, fig. 2). It also reveals the wide stylistic gap that separates the stiff tenth century drawing from the impressionism of the Roll.

39. The seating of Mary, or of both Mary and Joseph, on rocks in the *Adoration* is found on a sarcophagus of Arles and the early Christian book cover of Milan, as Schapiro (review cited, notes 60, 61) has pointed out.

the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua during the second half of the seventh century is an example of the activity of such Eastern artists in Italy. For such activity in the tenth century we have no evidence.

Weitzmann has proved, conclusively I think, that the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, the drawings of the Joshua Roll, and the frescoes of Castelseprio are all three of the same style, school, and date. From the preceding view of the evidence offered in favor of dating this style and school in



1. Comparison of borders

the tenth century, it appears that it cannot be proved. There is no acceptable external evidence for this conclusion and the internal evidence, both stylistic and iconographic, is far from adequate. The parallels of iconography do not in the last analysis support the later dating, and comparison of style inevitably discloses the discrepancy between the free impressionism of our trio of cycles when set beside the tight and meticulous drawing of mid-Byzantine painting.⁴⁰ The hypothesis of synthetic construction of figures from antique models, and that which would see in our three cycles an artificial compilation by insertion of Hellenistic landscape, personifications, and architectural motifs copied out of miniatures and ancient manuscripts, are *prima facie* improbable, and eventually unconvincing when considered against the stylistic and compositional unity and consistency of the miniatures, drawings, and frescoes in question. Their dating in the tenth century remains an assumption. We may now examine the evidence for an earlier dating, roughly the second half of the seventh century or, at the latest, ca. 700.

THE PARIS PSALTER

The tenth century text of the Psalter may be eliminated from the data on the date of the miniatures, since Bordier has demonstrated their insertion (see p. 173).

The miniatures are copies, either from illustrated rolls like the Joshua Roll, or strip compositions in any case. This is evident in the *Crossing of the Red Sea* (Fig. 12), whose archetypal strip composition is preserved to us in the Octateuchs as a continuous left-to-right sequence. In the Psalter the strip has been divided and the right half superimposed above the left, so that Moses points his wand toward the Egyptian host instead of the waters he is dividing with it. In the miniature of *David as Harper* (Fig. 10) the mountain-god Bethlehem, which in the model must have occupied his proper high position at the upper right, has been brought down into the right-hand corner to

⁴⁰. The character of tenth century drawing is well expressed by Buchthal, who in his comment on the Stavronikita Gospels (*op.cit.*, p. 61) speaks of the "hard, angular lines" of the drapery, and the "inflexibility of the forms" which "far surpasses that in the Psalter."

fit into the quadrangle of a full-page picture. In the *Prayer of Hezekiah* (Fig. 13) the Hand of God toward which the king lifts his veiled hands in prayer has been cut off in a similar amputation of the strip composition of the model. The second figure of Nathan, which must have completed the continuous narrative of the model's rendering of the *Penitence of David*, and toward whom the kneeling king and the personification of Repentance are turned (Fig. 14), has been omitted in the same process of reducing strip to page.

The labels of the miniatures are written in an early square script. Their letters have not acquired the verticality sought by tenth century scribes, who cannot escape occasional slenderizing of their characters even when seeking archaic effect.⁴¹

The ornament of the borders is consistent throughout the miniatures, despite the accepted distribution of the pictures among a number of painters. Alison Frantz, in her monograph on Byzantine illuminated ornament,⁴² found, in the repertory of the artist who did the borders of the miniatures, that the jeweled border, the ribbon motif, the garland, and the "squared corner" belong to the early cycle of Byzantine ornament, and that "there is no evidence for the continuation of these forms after the ninth century," exception made of the jeweled border, which is common in all periods in other media, and only in manuscripts a mark of early date. The repetition of the borders of the Paris miniatures in Paris gr. 510 (Homilies of Gregory) is accompanied, as Miss Frantz pointed out, by reduction of scale or complication that indicates imitation (text fig. 1, b and c). The ribbon motif of the Psalter finds its best parallel in a fresco of S. Maria Antiqua of the seventh century. Most important for our purpose is the "squared corner," a device for carrying a garland around a corner by means of a tubular right angle from whose ends the garland issues. This is first found in a mosaic from Antioch (text fig. 1, d) that can be dated ca. 500 (now in the Academy of Art at Honolulu) and again in the Dioscurides of Vienna of the early sixth century. Its importance for our problem lies in its employment again at Castelseprio, where it carries the be-ribboned garland of the dado around the corner of the apse (text fig. 1, e). The trumpet-like end of the "square," already indicated in the Psalter, is here considerably developed, but essentially identical with the squared corners of the border of the Psalter's *Anointing of David* (Fig. 41). The same combination of squared corner and garland wound with ribbon occurs in the frescoes of Münster (Grisons), of the early ninth century (text fig. 1, a), with much more development of the trumpet effect.

As to style, and among examples of undisputed date, the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua still offer the closest parallels with the miniatures of the Psalter, the drawings of the Roll, and the frescoes of Castelseprio. There are no other examples in existence which are comparable to the same degree. The contradictory disparities (see p. 176) found by Weitzmann and Buchthal in attempting to disprove the stylistic affinity of the paintings of S. Maria Antiqua with the Psalter's miniatures do not invite confidence in their negative conclusion. The miniatures, being copies, are duller and more mechanical in drawing and expression than the Roman frescoes (or, for that matter, than the frescoes of Castelseprio), but exhibit identities with them too obvious to be dismissed. There is the close correspondence of the lower portion of the figure of Night in the *Prayer of Isaiah* (Fig. 11) with the same portion of the figure of Salomona at S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 35), offering a better parallel than Grünewald's Demeter or Weitzmann's Medea. Even more striking is the resemblance of the heads of the two boys in the paintings. Profiles from the frescoes added to the church by

41. Schapiro has stated (*Gaz. B.-A.*, 1949, p. 166), with reference to the uncial labels of the Roll, that "these uncials are most difficult to date, since they are archaic types in an age when minuscule writing has become the chief book hand." He adds, with reference to the mixture of capital and minuscule labels in the Roll, that "in the Bible of Leo . . . we find just this combination of capital and minuscule inscriptions" (this is true of only one—46vo—of the eighteen miniatures of the Bible). To date the uncial capitals of the Roll, and of the

Psalter miniatures as well, in the tenth century, one must resort to the explanation of archaic imitation. Taken by themselves, the labels of both manuscripts are quite consistent in form with the Greek inscriptions of the seventh and early eighth century in S. Maria Antiqua, and whatever embellishment they show in the form of lengthened horizontals and finials is uncertain evidence of date in view of the later re-inking both cycles of miniatures received.

42. ART BULLETIN, XVI (1934), pp. 73ff.



1. Joshua Roll. Capture and execution of the King of Ai



2. Vat. gr. 747. King of Ai before Joshua



3. Joshua Roll. Joshua sends the spies to Ai



4. Vat. gr. 747. Sack of Ai (detail)



5. Joshua Roll. Return of the spies from Ai



6. Vat. gr. 747. Joshua sends the spies to Jericho



7. Joshua Roll. Crossing of Jordan



8. Vat. gr. 747. Spies and Rahab before Joshua



9. Joshua Roll. Joshua meets the angel before Jericho



10. Paris Psalter. David as Harper



11. Paris Psalter. Prayer of Isaiah



12. Paris Psalter. Crossing of the Red Sea



13. Paris Psalter.
Prayer of Hezekiah



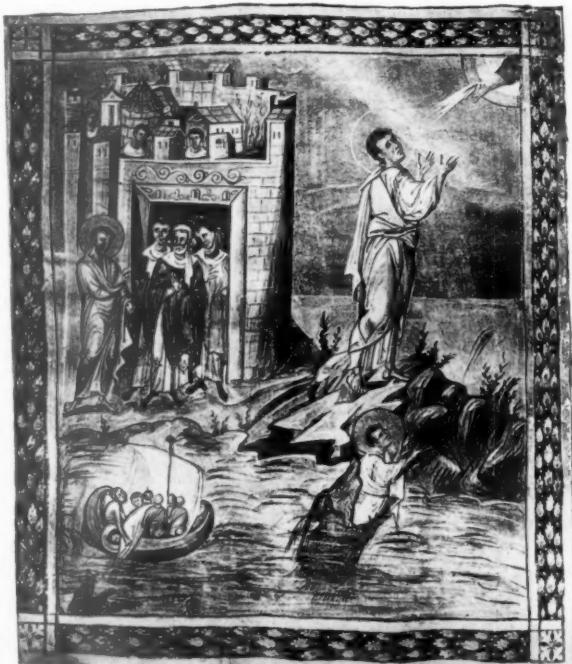
14. Paris Psalter.
Penitence of David



15. Paris Psalter.
Prayer of Hannah



16. Pantokratoros 49.
Prayer of Hannah



17. Paris Psalter.
Story of Jonah



18. Pantokratoros 49.
Story of Jonah



19. Paris Psalter. Exaltation of David



20. Castelseprio. Annunciation and Visitation



21. Castelseprio. Testing of the Virgin



22. Castelseprio. Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds



23. Castelseprio. Dream of Joseph



24. Castelseprio. Journey to Bethlehem



25. Castelseprio. Presentation in the Temple



26. Castelseprio. Adoration of the Magi



27. S. Maria Antiqua.
Adoration of the Magi



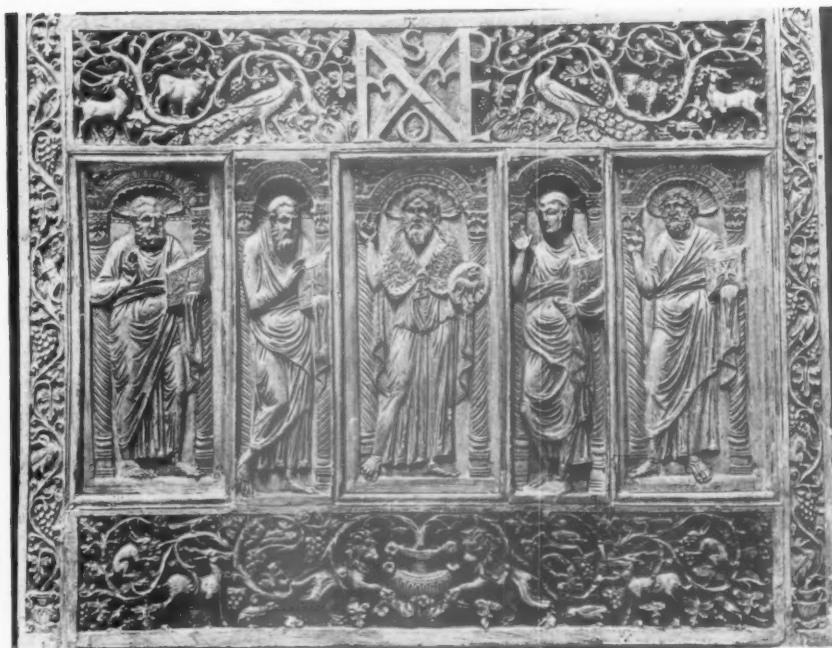
28. Cathedra of Maximianus.
Nativity



29. Cathedra of Maximianus. Dream
of Joseph; Journey to Bethlehem



30. Cathedra of Maximianus.
Testing of the Virgin



31. Cathedra of Maximianus. John the Baptist and the Evangelists



32. Bible of Leo. Crossing of the Red Sea



33. The book cover of Murano



34. Bible of Leo. Anointing of David



35. S. Maria Antiqua. Salomona, Eleazar, and the Maccabees



36. S. Maria Antiqua. Angel of the Annunciation



37. Menologium of
Basil II. Nativity



38. Menologium of
Basil II. Adoration
of the Magi



39. Menologium of
Basil II. Dream of
Joseph



40. Paris gr. 510.
Homilies of Gregory.
Anointing of David



41. Paris Psalter. Anointing of David



42. S. Maria Antiqua. Descent into Hell



43. S. Maria Antiqua. Head of a seraph



VERBI
INMILLE
NOCTEIS ET CORRIPUIT
PROELIS REGES;
COLIT ET ANCERECRISTOS

44. Utrecht Psalter. Detail of illustration

John VII in the early eighth century show the characteristic horizontal slashings with which the artists of the Psalter rendered brows, mouth, nostrils, and chin (cf. the same technique as shown in the seraph head in Fig. 43). The head of the angel of the early *Annunciation* in the apse of S. Maria Antiqua, despite the objections of Weitzmann and Schapiro,⁴³ is still closer to the heads of Moses and the personifications of the Psalter, and to that of Joshua in the Roll, than is any head of Byzantine art of the tenth century. More convincing than the dubious comparison of the Psalter's drapery, or that of the Roll, with examples of the tenth century, is the unique circular fold around the ankle of the kneeling David in the *Penitence* (Fig. 14) which reappears in a fresco of the *Descent into Hell* at S. Maria Antiqua of the eighth century (Fig. 42)—and nowhere else to my knowledge. The wide gap between thumb and forefinger, cited by Weitzmann⁴⁴ in the hand of Simeon in the *Presentation of Castelseprio* (Fig. 25) and in the hand of the praying *Isaiah* (Fig. 11) of the Psalter, as pointing “almost to the personal handwriting of an individual artist” is duplicated by the extended hand of the boy to the right of the Salomona group of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 35), and the hand of the angel in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the same church (Fig. 27). The rounded back of Simon of Cyrene as he bears the Cross in the *Via Crucis* of the Roman church is a mannerism seen throughout the Roll, and Weitzmann has noted the resemblance of the groups of Magi in the *Adorations* of Castelseprio and Rome (Figs. 26, 27).

Stylistic comparison of the Psalter's miniatures with other examples should take account of the character of the atelier that produced them.⁴⁵ The head master of it is easily singled out as author of the miniatures with most Hellenistic feeling: *David as Harper* (Fig. 10), *David Slaying the Lion*, the *Crossing of the Red Sea* (Fig. 12), *Moses on Sinai*, the *Prayer of Isaiah* (Fig. 11), and the *Prayer of Hezekiah* (Fig. 13). Of the sheets distributed through the atelier to be painted with the miniatures, the head master did the last four of the miniatures just mentioned on two sheets (four folios), while *David as Harper* and *David Slaying the Lion* were painted each on one folio of a sheet, the other folio of which was assigned to the incompetent assistant C. This, the second of the master's assistants, was responsible for the very bad *Coronation of David* with its hopelessly confused architectural background and unrelated legs under the shield on which the young David is raised, and the *Daughters of Israel Glorifying David* whose architecture is even more impossible and figures even worse articulated. The other assistant, B (accepting Weitzmann's reduction of the painters to three), comes much closer to the head master's style, but cannot compass his landscape, which he omits in the *Combat of David and Goliath*,⁴⁶ and while he has done a fair job with the architectural perspective of the *Anointing of David* (Fig. 41), his structures lack equilibrium. He misunderstands the background again in the *Penitence* (Fig. 14) and his model as well, since he has omitted the second figure of Nathan that must have been included in the continuous narrative of his strip model. In the *Prayer of Hannah* (Fig. 15) he committed another omission—the seated figure of Hannah with the child Samuel in her lap—which must have been in the model he copied, since the group appears in the same illustration (Fig. 16) of a psalter of the eleventh century on Mt. Athos (Pantokratoros 49), descendant from the same or similar archetype. In its miniature of *Jonah*, the Pantokratoros Psalter (Fig. 18) contains a personification of the Sea, which again is omitted by B (Fig. 17), and a Hellenistic villa half-concealed by a mountain slope which B has transformed

43. Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*, p. 24; Schapiro, *Gaz. B.-A.*, 1949, p. 167. For illustrations of this and other comparisons, cf. *Speculum*, XIV (1939), p. 158 and figs. 3-7.

44. *Joshua Roll*, p. 25.

45. cf. the writer's “Notes on East Christian Miniatures,” *ART BULLETIN*, XI (1929), pp. 31ff., and Weitzmann, *Jahrb. f. Kunsthissenschaft*, 1929, p. 191 and note. The present writer, in the article cited, had assumed five artists employed on the miniatures, deducing this from the distribution of the miniatures to be painted, two on each sheet, among the painters, each painter receiving two or more sheets for his task. Weitz-

mann believes the number may be reduced to three. This correction (not the first the writer owes to his colleague's courteous criticism) seems now to be justified, and the artists D and E of the original group of five may be identified with B.

46. Mention may be made here, for its bearing on the date of the Psalter's miniatures, of the replica of this scene on the silver plate from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This must date, from the coins found with it and its sterling marks, in the period 550-600. For a discussion of its identities with the miniature, see Buchthal, *op.cit.*, p. 21, fig. 44.

into a miniature city of Nineveh, with Jonah preaching to the Ninevites at its gate. Weitzmann⁴⁷ has pointed out the resemblance of the composition thus resulting to the corresponding scene in the Paris Gregory (gr. 510). This, in the light of B's divergence from his Hellenistic model as reflected in Pantokratoros 49, indicates that the master's assistant was following, instead of such a model, a Constantinopolitan conception of the Jonah story which is represented, with much the same elements as found in the Psalter, by the miniature of the Homilies of Gregory. This impression is confirmed by his complete departure in the *Exaltation of David* (Fig. 19) from the perspective background of the head master, substituting a neutral setting, and depicting David standing on a pedestal in iconic fashion between personifications of Wisdom and Prophecy. The picture looks like an imitation of some imperial mosaic or fresco of the capital.⁴⁸

The significance of the above discrepancies between the miniatures of the head master and those of his assistants has not been sufficiently noted. They indicate a workshop in which a competent painter familiar with a style of free movement, three-dimensional composition, prolific personifications, and Hellenistic architectural perspective and landscape, was assisted (and hampered) by deputies unfamiliar with this style and its accompanying iconography, evincing in their omissions, and in the innovations they introduce (such as the city of Nineveh in *Jonah* and the neutral background of the *Exaltation of David*), an artistic and iconographic habit consistent with the practice of Constantinople, where it is commonly agreed the Psalter's miniatures were painted. The inference is that the head master was an artist trained in a style and technique exotic for Constantinople, who took on local talent for eight of the miniatures he was commissioned to deliver. His contract called for a gathering of pictures of the Life of David, and another to illustrate the Canticles. The miniatures of the Life of David at present form a quaternion of four sheets or eight folios; the gathering of the Canticles is now a ternion of six folios, but must have been larger originally, since Vat. Pal. gr. 381, which copies our Psalter's miniatures, adds another Moses scene. It is quite possible that both gatherings may have been in origin more extensive, since quinions are quite as likely in early Greek manuscripts as quaternions (cf. the Codex Rossanensis), and that we have lost some scenes from the David cycle as well. At any rate, the head master confined himself to two folio-pictures of the David cycle (*David as Harper* and *David Slaying the Lion*), turning over the rest to his two assistants. On the other hand, he executed four of the six miniatures of the Canticles (*Crossing of the Red Sea*, *Moses on Sinai*, the *Prayer of Isaiah*, the *Prayer of Hezekiah*), and the repetition of his style in the extra Moses picture of the Vatican psalter shows that he was responsible for more in the original gathering. The *Prayer of Hannah* and the *Jonah* he left to his assistant B.⁴⁹

We have seen that assistant C, he of the *Daughters of Israel* and the *Coronation*, is utterly unable to compass the style of the models set for copying, and that assistant B, superior to C in this respect, is nevertheless uncertain with architectural backgrounds and landscape, prone to omissions (Nathan in the *Penitence*, the Sea in the *Jonah* miniature, and the group of Hannah with the child Samuel in the *Prayer of Hannah*), and substituting at times local iconography for that of the models elsewhere followed in the copying of the miniatures (Nineveh in the *Jonah* scene; the type employed in the *Exaltation of David*). The same inability or refusal to assimilate Hellenistic style, and especially its space composition, on the part of the artists of Constantinople, is well illustrated by some of the miniatures of the Paris Gregory.

The artist of this manuscript who painted the miniature of the story of St. Cyprian copied a model of the same style as those reproduced by the head master of the Paris Psalter, with a deep archi-

47. *Jahrb. f. Kunsthissenschaft*, 1929, p. 185. The Gregory miniature is reproduced in Buchthal, *op.cit.*, fig. 79.

48. Noteworthy, too, in the miniatures of B (*Hannah*; Fig. 15) and C (*Coronation*, *Daughters of Israel*) is the substitution, for the simple Hellenistic name-label used by the head master, of more prolix inscriptions or extracts from texts, as in the

Leo Bible and the Homilies of Gregory.

49. For a chart showing the distribution of the sheets, cf. ART BULLETIN, XI (1929), p. 31, where, however, assistants D and E should be replaced by B, in accordance with Weitzmann's correction.

tectural perspective for its background. But he eliminated the depth thus expressed by transforming the colonnaded perspective into a toy structure low in the foreground. In the *Vision of Ezekiel*, of the same manuscript, the figure of the angel so strikingly recalls the style of the Psalter that the model followed must again have been of the same type as those employed by the workshop of the Psalter; here again, a considerable architectural complex that must in the original have provided a deep perspective background has been reduced to absurdly small proportions in the foreground. In the Gregory's miniature of the *Anointing of David* (Fig. 40), so closely resembling that of the Psalter (Fig. 41) that Weitzmann concluded that one must have been copied from the other or both from a common original, the perspective of the Psalter (which assistant B has rendered from his model with a somewhat uncertain hand) has been reduced to a neutral zone, and the two pavilions of its architectural background reduced to one. This pavilion, like the architectures described above, has been brought down into the foreground, and is no higher than the figure of Samuel who stands beside it. Jesse and his sons, of ample modeling in the Psalter and grouped in natural relation to their surroundings, have been flattened out in the Gregory and aligned in a single plane. The Psalter's rendering is obviously the more original, and that of the Gregory exhibits in relation to it the same appearance of copy, or rather revision, which Miss Frantz found in comparing the border ornament of the two manuscripts (text fig. 1, b and c). One does not need here the *pis aller* of a common archetype; it is more reasonable to suppose that the Gregory artist knew and used the miniature of the Psalter. This would afford a *terminus ad quem* of the end of the ninth century (the date of the Gregory manuscript) for dating the miniatures of the Psalter.

The resemblance which Weitzmann found between the Gregory and Psalter miniatures of the *Penitence of David* (where a similar absurd reduction of architecture occurs in the Gregory), *Moses on Sinai*, and the *Crossing of the Red Sea* would then be evidence of the same use of the Psalter by the Gregory painters. We have noted the *Crossing of the Red Sea* (Fig. 12) as one of the instances in the Psalter of its adaptation of the strip compositions of its model to the quadrangle of a page, in this case by cutting the strip in two and putting the right half over the left. The Gregory repeats this arrangement, and so does a miniature (Fig. 32) of the Bible of Leo (early tenth century). The imitation of the Psalter here is obvious; the artist of the Bible has omitted the Night toward which Eremos (Desert) looks up in the Psalter, but left the latter personification still in the attitude motivated only in the Psalter. A series of details of faulty drawing in the Psalter's picture are repeated in the Bible's replica: the detached effect of Pharaoh's hand, the inverted head of a child in the front row of the group of Israelites, and the quasi-isolation of a head of a horse in the sea, which has become complete in the Bible, and also in the adaptation which seems to have been made of the Psalter's miniature in the Gregory. Similar "agreement in error" emerges from a comparison of the *Anointing of David* in Psalter and Bible (Figs. 41, 34): in the former, the amphora beside the standing Samuel indents the outline of his right leg and this is repeated in the Bible. The pink hue given the nimbi in this miniature of the Psalter is repeated in the Bible, and Buchthal has pointed out the identical coloring of the miniatures of *Moses on Sinai* in both manuscripts, between which the same relation of copy and model seems to exist.

These indications of the use of the Psalter's miniatures by artists of Constantinople (the Gregory and the Bible are demonstrably products of the capital) are not only internal evidence for dating the miniatures of Paris at least before the end of the ninth century, but also reveal the process by which the style of the head master of the Psalter atelier, exotic for Constantinople, was adapted and modified in the metropolitan workshops. Of the master's two assistants, one could approximate its architectural perspectives and fluent action, the other could only bungle them hopelessly in the *Coronation of David* and the *Daughters of Israel*. The accomplished painters of the Gregory reduced the style to Byzantine terms, eliminating its perspective and movement, transforming its composition in accordance with their native preference for two dimensions. The less gifted painter

of the Bible tries to capture it but, at least in his rendering of the *Red Sea*, is scarcely more successful than the master's assistant C.

The source of this exotic style we may consider later. But that the Psalter's miniatures furnished one medium of its transmission is plain from the actual copying of them in the Bristol Psalter of the eleventh century, and psalters in Leningrad and the Vatican of the twelfth. The foregoing examination of their relation to the Homilies of Gregory and the Leo Bible has indicated that they were known and used at Constantinople before the end of the ninth century. To the imitation of such exotic models as the miniatures of the head master may be attributed the bits of Hellenism to be found here and there in the manuscripts of the tenth century: the more classic poses, faces, and drapery occasionally displayed by the portraits of the Evangelists in the Gospel-books; the architectural setting which the painter of Stavronikita 43 has revised from an original diagonal perspective into symmetry, and the artist of Vienna theol. gr. 240 tooled into his background of neutral gold. The painter of Paris Coisl. 195 did the same in his miniature of John, and the source from which he got his Hellenistic background is indicated by the close relation of his ornament to that of the miniatures of the Psalter.

A real assimilation of the exotic style is first found among extant examples of Byzantine art at the end of the tenth century, and in the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II (Figs. 37-39). Here we see its characteristics reduced to Byzantine terms: movement, but movement that is mechanical and no longer free; and landscape, with all the paraphernalia of mountain slopes half-concealing bits of architecture, the "theater-wing" device for introducing figures into the foreground, an occasional tree, and even in one miniature the characteristic column, perched insecurely upon a lonely mountain peak. But this landscape, like the figures, has acquired the hard outlines and stereotyped formulas that it will carry with it into early Italian painting and the icons of Russia; its spatial effect is lost, along with the atmosphere eliminated by the gold background against which the landscape is relieved. The new style brought in with it exotic bits of iconography, and it is precisely in the tenth century that we first see in Byzantine art (and in fact in the Menologium) the new types of the open landscape in the *Dream of Joseph* (already implied on the Cathedra), the Virgin seated on a rock in the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the association (already found in the mosaics of the oratory of John VII) of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* with the *Nativity*.

THE JOSHUA ROLL

We have already examined the argument for a late dating of the Roll based on the supposed errors of the artist in his rendering of the archetype, and the supposition of his collaboration with the scribe of the tenth century. Since the "errors" proved to be rather of the Octateuchs than of the Roll, and we found that the scribe did not always pick his excerpts to fit the drawings, the argument is reduced to proving, for a dating in the tenth century, the physical contemporaneity of drawings and text. The notion of the insertion of the illusionistic setting and the personifications is an hypothesis impaired by the general consistency of the Roll and the absence of the lacunae, adjustments, and misfits that would inevitably result from such a pasticcio.

A difference in date between the drawings and the inscribed text is indicated by all the facts. The Vatican editors noted the paler and thinner ink of the drawings and original labels as compared with that of the text. The original inscriptions (Fig. 3) are done in early uncial capitals; the scribe has supplemented them with others in cursive. Weitzmann has attacked this argument for discrepancy in date by citing the occasional use by tenth century scribes of uncials for their labels even when employing minuscule in the text, but this is not parallel to the mixture of uncials and minuscule in the labels themselves (such mixture, cited by Schapiro in the *Bible of Leo*, is limited to one miniature only; cf. note 41). So also Weitzmann's examples of mid-Byzantine archaizing uncials betray the argument; even when closest to the Roll's inscriptions, they show here and there,

especially in alphas, the slimness of the later script. The blobs added to the uncials of the Roll, similar to those with which the scribes of the tenth century enhanced their letters, is a dubious argument in view of the later re-inking of the Roll noted by the Vatican editors.⁵⁰

If text and drawings had been planned and executed at the same time in the tenth century, sufficient space would have been left for the text beneath the drawings. This is not the case: the text has to invade the space between Joshua and the angel before Jericho on sheet iv (Fig. 9), and inscribe itself on the mountain behind Joshua and the priests, praying after the defeat at Ai, on sheet viii. It rubs the feet of the figures on sheets ii (Fig. 7) and v. Weitzmann meets this argument by pointing out that the width of the space beneath the drawings sometimes extends to $6\frac{1}{2}$ cm. But it also contracts to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. and the smaller dimension is the one to be considered in reconstructing the artist's layout. His continuous narrative required a definite imaginary ground-line, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ cm. from the bottom of the sheet is just about where a draughtsman would put it. The fact that the drawings extend at times to within a centimeter from the upper edge of the sheet is not pertinent; to a draughtsman the ground-line is his only fixed limitation.

Weitzmann's stylistic comparisons with miniatures of the tenth century have been examined and found less than cogent. But his exhaustive demonstration of community of style between the frescoes of Castelseprio and the illustrations of the Roll and Psalter is so convincing as to rank as firm ground in the conjectural terrain of the documentation of Byzantine art. He has made clear that the affinity of style, in general and especially in details, is too evident to permit the assumption of centuries between frescoes and miniatures, and that the date of the Lombard cycle will also fix the date of the drawings of the Roll and the miniatures of the Psalter.

CASTELSEPRIO⁵¹

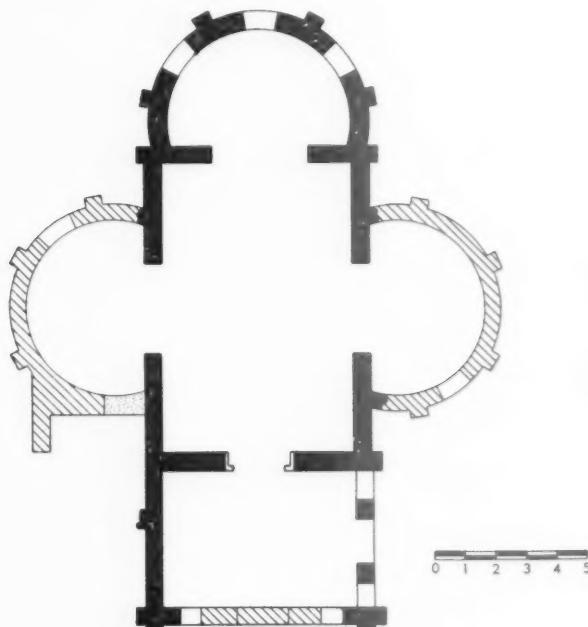
The church or chapel of S. Maria di Castelseprio is a small affair; its nave is about 32 feet long, extended by a relatively large apse, containing the frescoes, which is about 12 feet 9 inches in depth.

50. *Il Rotolo di Giosuè*, p. 12.

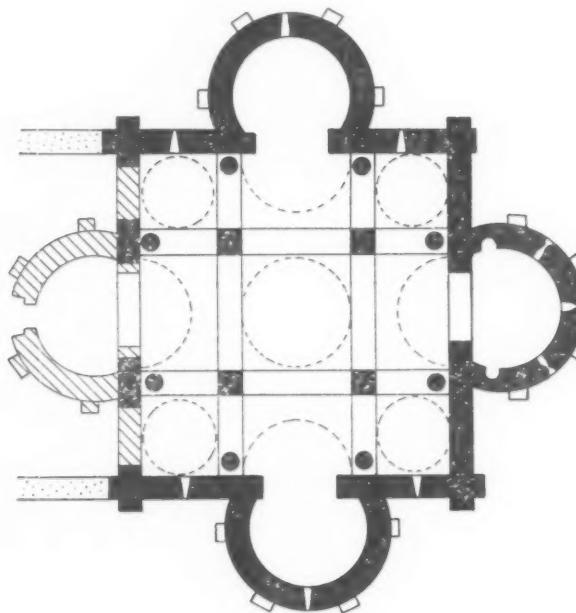
51. The principal publication of the church of S. Maria at Castelseprio is the volume by Bognetti, De Capitani d'Arzago, and Chierici cited in note 26. To this is now to be added fascicules ix-x of *Rassegna Storica del Seprio* published by the Società Storica Varesina and the Musei Civici of Varese. These fascicules are dedicated to the memory of the young De Capitani d'Arzago, who died on the eve of his intended presentation of the newly discovered frescoes, at the Byzantine Congress of Paris, June 30, 1948. In him the history of Italian art has lost a scholar lamented not only by his Italian colleagues but by all who were privileged to know his high competence and his engaging personality. The issue contains an article by him on the frescoes, which was translated in abbreviated form in *Art News* (January 1949); a preliminary article in Italian by Weitzmann, superseded by the monograph cited in note 27; and a supplementary commentary on Castelseprio, S. Maria, and the frescoes, by Bognetti. This last records the results of recent research by Bertolone on the ruined church of S. Giovanni Evangelista within the fortified inclosure of Castelseprio, and on its date, which appears to be somewhat earlier than the date in the seventh century assigned to S. Maria by Bognetti. The latter also summarizes the work of Sironi on the route of the late Roman and Lombard road connecting Seprio with the mountain passes; the route passed in front of S. Maria and led directly to the pass of Lucomagno, confirming the numismatic evidence already in hand on the role played by Castelseprio as a hospice for pilgrims from the North to Rome. Recent operations of restoration conducted by Crema, superintendent of antiquities for Lombardy, have uncovered traces of fresco in the nave that prove it to have been originally painted, and disclosed also part of the original pavement of the church, of a design attributable to the vi-ix centuries by reason of its similarity to Lombard pavements executed between those dates, and to a similar floor of the viii century at S. Maria

Antiqua. A part of Bognetti's article is devoted to recording the observations of the archaeologists and art historians who have visited the site, among which the most interesting are the noting of the varnish-like coat given the rough interior plaster to prepare it for the frescoed coat, as was done for the early ninth century frescoes of Münster, and Grabar's comment that the peculiar extension of the arms of the cross in the nimbus of the Christ Child, beyond the periphery, is found elsewhere only in Carolingian art (cf., however, the additional examples cited by Schapiro in his review of Weitzmann, June 1952 issue of the *BULLETIN*, note 53). Bognetti devotes the greater part of his space to a refutation of Weitzmann's thesis that the iconoclastic controversy interrupted the stylistic tradition descending from antiquity, and that the latter was artificially revived by the "renaissance of the tenth century." His argument contains many observations of value, though impaired in logic by the unproved assumption of a tenth century date for the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll. In a note to his article, Bognetti has assembled a useful bibliography of Italian writing to date upon the frescoes, showing a general agreement on the early dating, but ranging from the vi to the viii century. Pietro Toesca (*Giornale d'Italia*, August 1947) found in them the art of Constantinople of the sixth century, but in a later article (*L'Arte*, July 1951) suggests the "inizi del secolo vii." Roberto Longhi (*Proporzioni*, II, 1948, p. 46) places the paintings in the Lombard period and calls them a continuation, "not a revival," of Hellenistic style. Carlo Cecchelli (*Osservatore Romano*, October 1948) assigns the frescoes to the viii century. Paolo d'Ancona (*Le Vie d'Italia*, December 1949) suggests the beginning of the eighth century. Salmi (*Commentari*, I, 3, July-September 1950, p. 196) is in favor of the second half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth. Giovanna Giacomelli (*Felix Ravenna*, LIII, fasc. 2, August 1950) dates the frescoes in the eighth century and sees in them a continuation of Milanese style of the fifth and sixth.

The poverty of its construction indicates a very low economic period: the walls are of rough field stone, brick being used only for the outer lining of the windows, which are narrow and capped by arches of horseshoe shape, with re-entrant imposts forming the "mushroom" type. The buttress-strips on the apsidal wall indicate that the original building plan called for a vault; this was evidently beyond the capacity of the eventual builders, who roofed the apse with a flat wooden roof of which the original beams remain. The apse has a slightly horseshoe plan, as also the lateral apses, which have been destroyed down to their foundations. The plan thus resulting (text fig. 2) resembles Germigny-des-Près (798-818) (text fig. 3) and this trefoil plan, together with the horseshoe arched windows and the partial closure of the apses, has been cited by Chierici as indicating Eastern inspiration in the building of the little church. The recently uncovered original pavement is of a design paralleled at S. Maria Antiqua, and Lombard examples of the vi-ix centuries. The frescoes



2. Castelseprio, plan



3. Germigny-des-Près, plan

are painted on the walls of the apse on a fine plaster coat applied while the under-layer covering the rough walls was in some portions wet, as is shown by the indentations in the latter (in these portions) which were used instead of picking to prepare the first coat for the finer stratum to be frescoed. This is evidence of contemporaneity of building and frescoes.

Castelseprio was always a fortress rather than a town; the Roman fragments found there are evidently building material brought from elsewhere. It was a fortress of importance, guarding the Alpine passes into Rhaetia, and could not have failed also to be a hospice for pilgrims descending the passes on their way to Rome. Lombard occupation of the site was inevitable, to block the feared invasion of the Franks, and an epitaph bearing the Lombard name, "Wideramnus," ascribed by Monneret de Villard to the seventh century, was found during the last century in the atrium of the church. The church itself is regarded by Bognetti as the seat of one of the missions sent out into North Italy by the popes of the seventh century, for the dual purpose of converting the Lombards from Arianism to orthodoxy (a conversion finally sealed by the Council of Pavia in 698) and combating the schismatics of Aquileia and their north Italian adherents, who had severed allegiance to Rome in a dispute arising out of the theological quarrel of the Three Chapters. Bognetti has assembled an impressive documentation of these missions of the seventh century in north Italy

and elsewhere, especially as to the Eastern, Greek nationality of the ecclesiastics of their personnel. St. Barbatus' work in the Duchy of Benevento is an example, and an epitaph of the church of St. George in the castle of Filattiera in the Lunigiana extols the cleric there entombed as a missionary "against the pagans and the heretics." Other epitaphs, of Pavia, tell us of clerics with the Eastern names of Barjonas and Thomas, the latter of whom, a deacon, is praised for his work in decorating his church. This is the time when Pope Vitalian sent Theodore of Tarsus to England, and a period when the popes themselves were largely of Eastern origin. The primicerius of Martin I, at the Lateran Council of 649, introduced no less than thirty-seven Eastern abbots, monks, deacons, and priests to the Council, describing them as "dwelling in Rome." These were refugees from Persian and Arab invasions of the Roman East, and from monophysite persecution, and among such refugees must be counted the artists who brought in the Greek style that intrudes itself into local painting in the second half of the seventh century at S. Maria Antiqua. Such also were the Easterners who founded S. Saba on the Aventine at Rome, and served the churches of S. Maria in Cosmedin *in schola Greca* and S. Giorgio in the Foro Boario. It must have been ecclesiastics of similar origin who introduced into Rome at this time the Egyptian method of organizing church charity in centers of distribution (diaconiae) of which S. Maria Antiqua was one.⁵²

But the monks from Palestine who founded S. Saba decorated its walls with frescoes of two-dimensional style and flat iconic figures, quite different from the Hellenistic modeling and variety of posture, gesture, and movement to be seen at S. Maria Antiqua. The Greek painters of the latter church left evidence of their nationality in certain details of iconography, such as the title of *ἡ ἀγία Μαρία* they give to the Virgin, and the Madonna-type in which the Child is held within an aureole—motifs native to Egypt in early Christian art. A similar indication, both of date and provenance of the artist, can be seen at Castelseprio. This is the Doubting Midwife of the *Nativity* (Fig. 22), of the particular type in which she extends her withered hand, supporting it with the other, toward the Virgin or the Child, that it may be healed. The examples cited by Weitzmann as also Byzantine—a fresco formerly in the church of S. Sebastiano al Palatino and a panel of the bronze doors of Benevento, of the tenth and twelfth centuries respectively—are neither Byzantine, but Italian, nor parallel, since in both the characteristic gesture is changed to a suppliant attitude with both hands extended. The type of Castelseprio is not even found among the archaic frescoes of Cappadocia, and disappears, so far as extant examples show, after the eighth century. But it does appear in that century at S. Maria Antiqua, in a mutilated fresco that nevertheless exhibits the closest resemblance to the composition of Castelseprio. It also recurs in a fresco of the catacomb of S. Valentino of the vii century, and in one of the lost mosaics of the oratory of John VII (early viii century) in Old St. Peter's. Its Egyptian origin is indicated by its first appearance, on an ivory panel of the Cathedra of Maximianus at Ravenna (Fig. 28) whose Egyptian provenance is well attested.⁵³

Another iconographic detail that first appears in Egypt⁵⁴ is the broad-armed, unadorned, quasi-rectangular cross in the nimbus of the bust of Christ which is painted above the central window of the apse of the chapel of S. Maria. This cross still retains some trace of the flaring ends which are features of the cross in the nimbus of Christ in the early Christian period, but corresponds well enough to the rectangular type to be a test for date. For this form of cross in the Saviour's nimbus

52. H. I. Marrou, "L'Origine orientale des diaconies romaines," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, LVII (1940), pp. 132ff.

53. Kitzinger (*Archaeologia*, LXXXVII, 1937, pp. 181ff., pls. LXXVI, LXXVII) pointed out that the ornament of the Cathedra is closely allied with that of an early Christian wooden door from the church of S. Barbara in Old Cairo, and a pilaster from Bawit in the Louvre. The *Entry into Jerusalem* on a panel of the Cathedra shows a rug instead of a mantle spread in the path of the Saviour, and this motif, peculiar to the Cathedra and the ivories of its style, is found again on the wooden lintel of the church of El-Muallaka in Cairo. One of

the ivories of the Cathedra's stylistic group repeats the representation of S. Menas between his camels which is the customary ornament of the terra-cotta flasks found on the site of his famous sanctuary near Alexandria, and another displays personifications of Egypt, reclining on a sphinx, and of the Nile.

54. In a fresco found at Abu-Girgeh near Alexandria; its attributed date in the sixth century is borne out by the type of Christ employed, with hair bushed out laterally, which appears elsewhere only in the marginal miniatures of the Gospel-book of Rabula of A.D. 586, and possibly in the frescoes of Antinoë (C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, figs. 73, 75).

is common, according to the Princeton Index of Christian Art, from the seventh to the ninth century, and very sporadic in its appearance thereafter. In the particular form it takes at Castelseprio, its horizontal arms are heavily shaded below and the vertical arm on its right side, with the evident intention of indicating a third dimension. This peculiarity is limited both in area and date: the corresponding examples are the cross in the nimbus of Christ Crucified in the lateral chapel of S. Maria Antiqua of the early eighth century; the same motif in the halo of the Saviour in a fresco of the catacomb of S. Valentino, ca. 650; in a bust of Christ of the seventh century, in the catacomb of Pontianus; and again in the nimbus of the figure of Christ between saints in a fresco of the catacomb of Generosa, attributed by Wilpert⁵⁵ to the sixth century, but so exotic as compared with Latin work of that period, and so allied in style with the Greek frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua, that a dating in the seventh century seems to be indicated.⁵⁶

It may be noted that it was in the frescoes of the catacomb of S. Valentino that we also found the significant gesture of Elizabeth to the Virgin's womb in the *Visitation*, featured elsewhere among existing examples only on a Coptic textile (see note 33), and the Egyptian motif of the peculiar gesture of the doubting midwife. Both of these details are present in Grimaldi's drawings of the lost mosaics in the chapel which was built in Old St. Peter's by Pope John VII, who redecorated S. Maria Antiqua in the early years of the eighth century. Among the mosaics of this chapel and among the frescoes of S. Valentino (not to mention Castelseprio) we find our earliest renderings of the two midwives bathing the Christ Child; but it is significant that the first appearance of the bathing Child is on a textile from Akhmim in the Metropolitan Museum, where he stands, a half figure orant, without the midwives, in a vase-like tub resembling that recorded for the fresco of S. Valentino and the mosaic of John VII.⁵⁷ The concentration of these rare and significant details of iconography—the midwife's gesture, the gesture of Elizabeth, the shaded cross in the nimbus of Christ, the earliest examples of the bathing of the Child—in time (the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth), and in Rome (S. Maria Antiqua, the cemeteries of S. Valentino, Pontianus, and Generosa, the chapel of John VII), suggests that the mosaics and frescoes in which the types are found were all products of the school of painting that interrupted the Latin style at Rome with an imported Greek manner from the time of Pope Theodore (649-655), to whom we may reasonably ascribe the frescoes of S. Valentino, down through the reign of John VII (705-707), who repainted extensively in S. Maria Antiqua and commissioned the mosaics of his chapel in Old St. Peter's. Since all these motifs are found at Castelseprio, and all of them show some connection with Egypt, the inference is imposed that the artist of the Lombard cycle belonged to the same school, and derived his iconography from the same Egyptian sources as the Greek painters of S. Maria Antiqua.

The Virgin seated to the left in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 20) is characteristic of the early Christian art of Egypt (e.g., on the Cathedra of Maximianus and in a fresco at Bawit) and it is on an Egyptian textile that we find the earliest example of the maidservant in the *Annunciation* (see note 31). The *Testing of the Virgin*, the *Dream of Joseph*, and the *Journey to Bethlehem* (Figs. 21, 23, 24) make a sequence which *qua* sequence belongs to the early iconography of Egypt and the archaizing frescoes of Cappadocia; it is found on the Cathedra (Figs. 30, 29) and is in all probability the proper interpretation of a well-known fresco of Antinoë, instead of its previous identification as the Death of Zacharias, Joseph's second dream, and the Flight into Egypt.⁵⁸ The fragmentary white-clad, bare-footed

55. *Roma Sotterranea: Le Pitture delle Catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, I, p. 519.

56. I am indebted for the observation of this detail to Mr. Bernard Hanson of New York University, whose findings on this and other aspects of the nimbus of Christ at Castelseprio are, I believe, to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Marsyas*.

57. S. Valentino (R. Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, Prato, 1873, II, pl. 84, 1); the mosaics of John VII (Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*,

Freiburg, 1916, I, p. 353; III, pl. 113, 2). The fresco of the *Nativity* at S. Maria Antiqua is fragmentary (Grüneisen, *Sainte-Marie-Antique*, fig. 83), but shows traces of considerable extension below the figure of the reclining Virgin, which might have included the *Washing of the Child*.

58. The attitude of Joseph, supporting Mary on the ass, seems to certify the scene as the *Journey to Bethlehem* rather than the *Flight into Egypt* (Morey, *Early Christian Art*, fig. 75, 1).

figure behind the Virgin in the *Testing* at Castelseprio is more probably an angel rather than Joseph as De Capitani supposed, whereby the group corresponds in its elements, save for a hydria at Castelseprio instead of a phiale, to the scene on the *Cathedra* (Fig. 30). Weitzmann's parallels for the *Testing* and the *Journey to Bethlehem* are characteristic examples of the tardy reappearance in Byzantine art of these early apocryphal episodes so conspicuously absent from its middle period; for the former, he cites the Homilies of Jacobus of the twelfth century (Vat. gr. 1162; Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 1208), for the latter, the well-known mosaic of the fourteenth century in Kahrie-Djami at Constantinople. His excellent parallels for the composition that unites the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* with the *Nativity*, the open landscape in the *Dream of Joseph*, and the Virgin seated on a rock in the *Adoration of the Magi* are all illustrated in the *Menologium of Basil II* (Figs. 37-39), and adduced as proof of the tenth century character of the iconography of Castelseprio. But since the first of these three motifs is already found in the mosaics of the oratory of John VII, and the second implied by the *Cathedra*'s rendering, one may reasonably suppose a pre-iconoclastic origin for the third as well.⁵⁹ In any case, they are found in such significant company with the *Menologium*'s brittle assimilation of Hellenistic movement and landscape as to indicate that these iconographic motifs entered Byzantine art along with its imitation of the exotic style manifest in the frescoes of Castelseprio, the best miniatures of the Paris Psalter, and the drawings of the Joshua Roll. We may recall here other significant details of iconography: the resemblance of the three Magi of Castelseprio to those of S. Maria Antiqua, especially in their attitudes and grouping (Figs. 26, 27); the emphasis at Castelseprio on Simeon's age in the *Presentation* (Fig. 25) which reminds one of Choricius' description of him in the sixth century mosaics of S. Sergius at Gaza; and the unique group of priests behind Joseph in the same scene for which the fifth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore offer the only parallel.

The medallion containing the bust of Christ, with its cross in the nimbus of the type just discussed, is one of three separating the scenes of the upper frieze of the apse. The figures of the other two are destroyed. Weitzmann suggests two possibilities for these lost figures, or, most probably, busts: first, that they might have been the Virgin and an angel, whose busts flank the enthroned Christ in a mosaic over the entrance door of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople. My preference would be for his alternative suggestion that the missing heads were the Virgin and the Baptist, forming with the bust of Christ a *Deesis*. A *Deesis* would be, according to Weitzmann, an indication of post-iconoclastic date, but the type in incipient form, using busts of the Virgin and Precursor instead of full figures, is already found in the arch-mosaic of St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai, where medallions of the Virgin and the Baptist in the spandrels flank the Dove of the Holy Spirit at the summit of the arch.⁶⁰ The mosaics of St. Catherine's have been dated variously from the fifth to the eighth century, but are usually placed ca. 700. It is noteworthy also that these mosaics give us our best parallel for the motif of globe and staff borne by the flying angels who appear at Castelseprio on either side of the *Etimasia* over the arch of the entrance into the nave. This type in turn is not without an Egyptian connection, for what may well be the first appearance of the globe-bearing flying angel is in the frescoed pendentives of the Red Monastery at Sohag, which is dated by Monneret de Villard in the fifth century. Flying angels, supporting a medallion containing a bust of Christ or a cross, are used as a stock motif to fill the upper panel of the five-part ivory plaques associated in style with the *Cathedra* of Maximianus, and their Coptic imitations such as the book cover of Murano (Fig. 33). The motif is of course not confined to Egypt and Sinai; we find them again, for example, supporting a cross-inscribed medallion above the lunettes of the choir of S. Vitale at Ravenna, and they are carved on the long side of a sarcophagus discovered in 1933 at Constantinople where their medallion contains the monogram of Christ. But the globe they bear at Sohag, Sinai, and Castelseprio is of

59. See note 39.

60. M. Van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, Geneva, 1924, figs. 236, 237.

rarer occurrence, and there is no question that the type is more characteristic of pre-iconoclastic than of later art.⁶¹

The iconography of Castelseprio thus indicates not only early date but also Egyptian origin, lending weight to the conclusion, which was that of Miss Avery regarding the Greek painters of S. Maria Antiqua, that the painter of the frescoes was a refugee from Egypt. From Egypt, and specifically from Alexandria, since his brilliant style could hardly have maintained itself elsewhere on the Nile, and his origin and pre-iconoclastic date are confirmed by certain indications of epigraphy.

The label EMEA above the doubting midwife of the *Nativity* (Fig. 22) is evidence of the Greek origin of the artist, since it is a translation or, rather, transliteration of H MAIA, i.e., "the midwife."⁶² The same label is used in its original Greek to designate one of the midwives washing the Child in Nativities of Cappadocia, in the form MEA or EMEA. The inscription beside the Virgin in the *Nativity* reproduces exactly the same label for the Virgin in a fresco of the early eighth century at S. Maria Antiqua, and seems, somewhat like EMEA, to be a translation of the title the Greek painters gave her: H ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΠΙΑ. The Z in the ZVMEON which labels Simeon in the *Presentation* (Fig. 25), replacing sigma before a vowel, is, as De Capitani has pointed out, a characteristic instance of the interchange of sigma and zeta before a vowel, found in Egyptian papyri down to and through the eighth century.⁶³ The mixed capitals and uncials of the inscriptions are quite consistent with a dating anywhere from the fifth to the eighth century, and the forms of the letters, difficult to parallel in the tenth century, have impressed our best authority on mediaeval Latin palaeography, E. A. Lowe, as indicating the early rather than the later date.⁶⁴

SCA
M
A
R
I
A

The remains of the dado ornament at Castelseprio provide the final confirmation of the early dating (text fig. 1, e). The garland, with its squared corners at the point where it has to pass the angle of the wall separating the apse from the nave, belongs to a group of motifs which Alison Frantz found was not continued after the ninth century in east Christian ornament; it finds its closest, but more developed, parallel in a border of the Münster frescoes of the early ninth century, its earliest appearance in a mosaic of Antioch of ca. 500, and a simpler replica in a border of the *Anointing of David* of the Paris Psalter. Of the other panels of the dado, only one is preserved, occupied by a cushioned throne on which rests a book; it would appear that this motif alternated with the curtain throughout the dado, resulting in a lower zone that reminds one of the alternating panels with four altars each bearing a book, and four thrones, which succeed one another at the base of the dome of the Orthodox Baptistry in Ravenna (v century).

To the excellent analysis of the style of Castelseprio which Weitzmann has given us, some observations, many of them already to be found in De Capitani's exhaustive commentary, may be added. Outstanding is the painter's preference for diagonal perspective, a three-quarter view of both persons and objects, and a constant search for depth of space. This he achieves with his impressionistic landscape, and his architectures which he sometimes, however, carries into the foreground with bizarre constructions. His composition of groups tends to drop into triangles in good Hellenistic fashion, and now and then characteristic bits of Hellenistic exaggeration appear, such as the tree which protrudes its branch through the building back of Joseph in the *Journey to Bethlehem* (Fig. 24). His narrative tends to extension and continuity with occasionally no indication of separate scenes (only a tree divides the *Nativity* from the *Adoration of the Magi*), indicating familiarity with

61. Schapiro's review of Weitzmann already cited includes valuable comment on these angels and on the Etimasia itself. For the example at Sohag, cf. U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohag*, Milan, 1925-26, I, p. 55; II, fig. 211.

62. Schapiro (review cited, note 116 and text) has dismissed this evidence: "the fusion of noun and article in EMEA is as likely to be the act of an Italian as a provincial

Greek." Possibly, but not the use of this Greek title, unique in Latin iconography. The V in Simeon's label in the *Presentation*, which Schapiro takes for a Latin Y, has exactly the form of the upsilon of the Greek inscriptions of S. Maria Antiqua.

63. Bognetti, *et al.*, *op.cit.*, p. 651, note 225.

64. Dr. Lowe has kindly permitted this reference to his opinion.

roll composition, and enhancing the affinity so amply demonstrated by Weitzmann, with the Joshua Roll.

But he also betrays affinity with the painters of S. Maria Antiqua which Weitzmann's arguments *contra* can hardly be said to have obscured. Weitzmann is quite ready to recognize the Hellenism of the Roman frescoes, and even points out their use of the landscape background, in a rendering of David's combat with Goliath on the choir-screen, which he reproduces in his monograph. This fresco belongs to the later, eighth century phase of the decoration of S. Maria Antiqua, and is by the hand of a Latin imitator of the imported Greek style, but even in this imitation we find a fair reproduction of the rocky landscape prevalent at Castelseprio, and of its lively movement in the figure of David. The compositional depth of Castelseprio is echoed in the spatial placing of the figures in the Salomona group of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 35).

Weitzmann, however, distinguishes the Hellenism of the Roman cycle from that of the tenth century "renaissance" he recognizes at Castelseprio, applying the distinction especially to the two scenes of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Figs. 26, 27). That of Castelseprio extends the composition high into a mountain background, while at S. Maria Antiqua the action is on a single plane and the Virgin is enthroned instead of seated on a rock. The contrast is less significant for two considerations which Weitzmann loyally mentions: first, the resemblance we have already noted between the attitudes in the two groups of Wise Men, and, second, the fact that the Roman *Adoration* belongs to the imitative style of the eighth century. This type of Adoration with an angel introducing the Magi (in file) to the Holy Family is pre-iconoclastic (Cathedral of Maximianus, a relief from Carthage, a mosaic of the oratory of John VII), and first appears in Byzantine iconography in a miniature of the Homilies of Gregory which repeats in reverse the composition of S. Maria Antiqua, suggesting another case of the introduction of exotic iconography in the wake of exotic style. One should note also the second Magus of S. Maria Antiqua, with his curiously constructed face of retreating surfaces about the mouth, reminiscent not only of the face of Hezekiah in the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 13) but also of that of the second Magus at Castelseprio. The high vertical extension of the landscape scene at Castelseprio was forced by the narrow space in which it had to be developed; in the Roman church it was equally but differently confined by an oblong panel, and its figures are space-filling in contrast to their counterparts at Castelseprio in order to conform with the proportions of the figures in the rest of the decoration of the choir. Even so, the Roman painter has curiously and illogically retained a bit of the Castelseprio landscape to half-conceal with a mountain slope the figure of his angel, whose torsion and gesture reproduce these features of his counterpart in the Lombard fresco.

Weitzmann's differentiation of style proceeds more properly with the earlier, Greek frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua and especially the group of Salomona with her sons and Eleazar (Fig. 35), in which he finds that the figures have none of the torsion of Castelseprio and are clothed in drapery which "flattens out the body." He notes particularly in this connection the tendency of the Castelseprio painter to inflate his drapery, giving an artificial effect of volume. The tendency is, however, visible in pre-iconoclastic art, being particularly noticeable in the disciples of the *Transfiguration* in the mosaics of Sinai. But the observation of Weitzmann is a valuable one, directing attention to the beginning and perhaps the source of the latent trend in Byzantine painting toward an artificial plasticity obtained through the drapery alone, rather than by the body through the drapery—a trend traceable in mid-Byzantine art, but one that reaches its climax in the fourteenth century and succeeding periods. But the same inflation—in drawing, it is true, that is harder and more precise, as Weitzmann rightly observes—can be seen in the Salomona group, especially in the terminal figures to right and left. (One wishes that the makers of these comparisons with the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua could have seen them before their colors faded and dimmed the modeling.) Torsion and foreshortening are visible also in the Salomona group, reduced in comparison with the

expansive drawing of Castelseprio, but, as Weitzmann remarks, the freedom of the Lombard frescoes could not be expected in a votive composition like the Salomona group, where an iconic quality was required.

To the above effort to differentiate the figure style of the two cycles of frescoes, Weitzmann adds a comparison of detail of drapery. This centers mainly on the figure of Gabriel (Fig. 36) in the earlier of the two *Annunciations* in the nave of S. Maria Antiqua, which Weitzmann finds quite two-dimensional in contrast to Castelseprio, and lacking the superficial instead of natural high-lighting of the garments which is notable in the Lombard church. It is quite true that such artificial high-lighting is characteristic of Byzantine painting, though more so in later periods than in the tenth century, but here again we seem to find the possible beginning and source of the mannerism. The high-lighting of the Gabriel in the *Annunciation* of S. Maria Antiqua is quite as artificial as the examples cited by Weitzmann at Castelseprio, and while the drapery of Salomona displays it to a lesser degree, one can see nevertheless on her right shoulder the "comb-like hatching" of parallel highlights stressed by Weitzmann as differentiating the drapery of Castelseprio. The Gabriel presents another feature of the Castelseprio drapery emphasized by Weitzmann in the "arrow-like folds" protruding from the contours (though with blunted points at S. Maria Antiqua), and comparison of this figure with the Joseph of the *Journey to Bethlehem* at Castelseprio, singled out for contrast by Weitzmann, gives one the impression of the same technique employed by different artists.

A final distinction is made between the wide-open eyes and consequently "transcendental" gaze of the famous angel in the fragmentary *Annunciation* of the apse of S. Maria Antiqua, and the "piercing" self-conscious gaze of the heads in Castelseprio. The latter effect is certainly far to seek in the miniatures of the Leo Bible from which Weitzmann draws most of his stylistic Byzantine parallels for the frescoes. But one could hardly find more worthy companions to the fine expressive faces of Castelseprio than the seraphim (Fig. 43) of the *Adoration of the Crucified* above the apse of S. Maria Antiqua. Lastly, we may note the wide gap between thumb and forefinger, adduced by Weitzmann to prove a common style and date for the cycle of Castelseprio and the Paris Psalter, and yet found again at S. Maria Antiqua, in the extended hand of the boy in the Salomona group and of the angel in the *Adoration of the Magi*.

The artist of Castelseprio was a far more talented painter than any at S. Maria Antiqua, but there are too many coincidences of style, and too evident lack of fundamental distinctions, to admit a gap of two centuries or more between the two cycles. On the other hand, Weitzmann's demonstration of community of style and date with the miniatures of the Psalter and the drawings of the Roll is complete and convincing. He notes the tree used as a separation motif in the Roll and performing the same function to set off the *Nativity* of Castelseprio from the *Adoration of the Magi*, the "theater-wing" device for introducing new episodes and actors, the seating of Joseph on a rock in the *Nativity* and the Virgin in the *Adoration*, as Joshua is seated in the Roll. The "rustic villa" of the *Dream of Joseph* (Fig. 23), the antique "cube" of the *Presentation* (Fig. 25), the column with its curious sash in *Joseph's Dream* like that in the Paris miniature of *David as Harper* (Fig. 10), the gesture of the maidservant in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 20) so like that of the nymph in *David Slaying the Lion* of the Psalter, and all the other familiar reminiscences of antiquity and details of the illusionistic landscape style (the "insertions" of Weitzmann's theory) are cited as features common to the miniatures, drawings, and frescoes.⁶⁵ Weitzmann goes so far as to find the color

65. Schapiro's review of Weitzmann already cited points out the recurrence of these architectural "insertions" in the Gregory miniatures (Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 510), noting the "cube on stepped platform," "high pedestal with vase," "portal with entablature on column and pier," "tree above column or pedestal," and "column with sash." His examples are assembled to show that these motifs are not inventions of the tenth century,

but they have a further significance in demonstrating the inability or disinclination of the Gregory painters to handle such staffage in the Hellenistic manner of the Psalter and the Roll. In practically every case, the structures are out of scale and sometimes brought down into the foreground to eliminate their suggestion of depth, as in the *Penitence of David* and his *Anointing*, wherein we have noted the indications of adapta-

effect alike in Castelseprio and the Joshua Roll. Some attempt is made to bring the Leo Bible into this comparison, but the only "insertion" the Bible offers is a "rustic villa" in a miniature of the *Ascension of Elijah*, quite like that of the *Dream of Joseph*. We may recall in this connection the evidence previously noted of the use by the Bible of our style, through imitation of the Psalter's miniatures. But, to quote Weitzmann, "on the whole, the style of the Castelseprio frescoes seems to us closer to that of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll than to that of the Leo Bible"—a conclusion with which one can heartily agree.

Weitzmann shows his usual command of antique sources for the "insertion" motifs, citing excellent prototypes for Castelseprio's maid-servant in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 20), for the seated Joseph of the *Nativity* (Fig. 22; an Odysseus) and its reclining Virgin (for which he adduces antique representations of the Birth of Bacchus), for the midwives who wash the Child in the same scene, and for the reclining shepherd in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (Fig. 22) and his counterpart, the mountain-god Bethlehem in the miniature of *David as Harper* in the Psalter (Fig. 10). He also connects some architectural backgrounds of the Psalter and the frescoes with the *porta regia* and the *scaenae frons* of the ancient theater, in an argument that seems more elaborate than convincing, and in any case no more pertinent to our problem of date than the antique prototypes listed above, since such adaptations would be quite as likely, or rather more likely, in a pre-iconoclastic work than one of the tenth century.

What is most difficult to accept in Weitzmann's monograph on Castelseprio is the premise with which he begins his stylistic argument: namely, that early Christian style throughout the Mediterranean shows a steady regression toward two-dimensional abstraction, and that there was no survival of the illusionistic wing of Hellenistic style which would account for its appearance at Castelseprio. One can agree with this thesis so far as the Asiatic East is concerned, where the mosaics of Antioch have given us the data for a reconstruction of late antique art which bears out, as this writer has tried to show,⁶⁶ Weitzmann's generalization. The same is true of the art of Constantinople of the sixth century, as one can judge from its reflection in the mosaics of Ravenna, and even in the ninth the mosaics of Hagia Sophia and the miniatures of the *Homilies of Gregory* (Fig. 40) betray a persistent preference for composition in two dimensions, and a limited rendering of depth either of form or space.

But the generalization is not applicable to Egypt. It is true that the late antique art of Alexandria is poorly documented; of all the Hellenistic cities, this is still and always has been commercially important and amply inhabited to the point of making systematic excavation impossible. But Alexandria enjoyed in late antiquity the position of a stronghold of Hellenistic conservatism, a position translated by Christianity into a stronghold of orthodoxy. Egypt outside of the Delta was by contrast strongly anti-Hellenistic, and subject to violent espousal of heresies such as the Monophysite as an expression of Upper Egypt's native opposition to the Greek culture of Alexandria, of which the orthodoxy of the Council of Chalcedon was viewed as a function.

This polar contrast of Upper and Lower Egypt is evident in whatever there is of early Christian art remaining in, or attributable to, Egypt. The Hellenistic style can still be detected in the lost fresco of the *Miracle of Loaves and Fishes* once in the catacomb of Karmuz at Alexandria,⁶⁷ and though one can agree that the water-color copy by which we know it is imperfect evidence, it shows at least the survival of the picturesque setting and extended narrative which we find at Castelseprio. The frescoes of Antinoë exhibit a provincial imitation, with their hilly background half concealing structures, of this same illusionistic setting, "rather stylized and full of abstractions," as Weitzmann observes, but nevertheless preserving the tradition as it is preserved nowhere else in the sixth cen-

tion from the Psalter. The list is an excellent showing of the persistent two-dimensionalism which had already become the norm at Constantinople in the ninth century, and contrasts so fundamentally with the perspectives of Castelseprio, of the head

master's miniatures in the Psalter, and of the drawings of the Roll.

66. *The Mosaics of Antioch*, New York, 1938.

67. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, fig. 77.

tury art of the Mediterranean. But Antinoë is up the Nile, and its imitation of the manner of Alexandria is, as one might expect, inhibited by native tradition and inability to grasp the essentials of a Greek and alien style. The ivories that one can attribute to Egypt, notably the group headed by the finer panels of the Cathedra of Maximianus, and their Coptic imitations, illustrate well the artistic situation of Egypt in the early Christian period. They range from beautiful and free-postured figures such as the Baptist and Evangelists on the front of the Cathedra (Fig. 31) to pieces such as the book cover of Murano (Fig. 34), where the style has degenerated into tubular forms and the most primitive rendering of heads and drapery. Yet a common iconography pulls these two extremes together; the fine ivories (which do not "avoid," as Weitzmann says, the effect of spatial depth, but show by their marked architectural diagonals an attempt to preserve this effect even within the limitations of ivory-carving) can be assigned to the ateliers of Alexandria; those of the primitive style cannot be so assigned, but they are still Egyptian by virtue of their iconography, and hence must have been made in Upper Egypt. There is thus a dichotomy of style in Egypt which is unparalleled in the rest of the Mediterranean, because nowhere else is there so abysmal a cultural division as that which existed between Greek Alexandria and the anti-Hellenic valley of the Nile. And this provides the answer to Weitzmann's query: "Have we any right to assume that the difference in levels of quality [i.e., between an assumed survival of Hellenistic style and the frescoes of Antinoë] existed side by side in Alexandria?" No: but the difference *does* exist within the Egyptian ivories, and it is not an existence "side by side" in Alexandria of two styles, but the existence in Alexandria of an authentic Hellenistic tradition, in sharp contrast to a manner of distinctly lower Hellenistic quality, or rather definitely anti-Hellenistic, in Upper Egypt.

There are two compelling indications to show that the Greek illusionism which we can term the Alexandrian style *did* survive during the early Christian period and late enough to appear in the frescoes of Castelseprio. One is the persistent attachment of the elements of illusionism (the landscape, perspective, personifications) to the illustration of the Greek version of the Old Testament as this passes down through the Middle Ages to the final reduction to convention of its miniatures in the Octateuchs of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The Old Testament was first translated into Greek at Alexandria, for the benefit of the great colony of Hellenized Jews of that city, and must have been illustrated, to judge from the costume given soldiers and other atavisms, not much later than the completion of the translation in the second century A.D. The mediaeval history of this illustration can be traced from the Vienna Genesis through the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll, and Old Testament pictures in other manuscripts showing the same style, down to its final reduction to bare bones in the Octateuchs. Throughout its history, it retains the characteristic features of the illusionistic manner—the mountainous background, the trees, "garden walls," "sacred precincts," "rustic villas," scarfed pillars—in short, the repertory of the painter of Castelseprio. This Septuagint cycle may be reasonably supposed to have originated where the text was translated, namely, in Alexandria, and its style considered the manner native to that city. The Psalter, Roll, and Castelseprio, to whatever date assigned, bear witness to the continuity of the style's existence.

The second consideration is unaccountably ignored by Weitzmann. Dimitri Tselos⁶⁸ assembled an extraordinary wealth of evidence showing the persistence of this Alexandrian style in the drawings of the Utrecht Psalter of the early ninth century. Here the evidence of a Greek hand in the archetype followed by the copyist of the ninth century is overwhelming; the trees, animals, landscape, half-hidden structures (Fig. 44), "theater-wing," are all so identical with the same features of the Greek manuscript miniatures that have retained the illusionistic background that Tselos found himself constrained, to explain these identities, to predicate an intermediate archetype illustrated by a Greek artist. The developed iconography, where New Testament types are introduced, would

68. ART BULLETIN, XIII (1931), pp. 53-79.

point to a period no earlier than the seventh century for this archetype. The notion of a Greek illustrator for a Latin manuscript was a novel one at the time of Tsilos' article, but the discovery at Castelseprio of a Greek artist working in Italy gives flesh and blood to Tsilos' hypothetical draughtsman, and the general similarity of the Castelseprio landscape and its accessories to the details pointed out by Tsilos in the Psalter suggests another of these Greek expatriates, like those of S. Maria Antiqua, finding employment of his Alexandrian style (superior to anything the West could produce in that epoch) in the Latin scriptorium which produced the intermediate model of the Utrecht Psalter. The penetration of this Greek influence in the West, in the VII-VIII centuries, can be traced as far as Northumbria. Professor Lowe attributes to this remote haven of mediaeval literacy the remnant of a Latin Gospel-book bound in with the Utrecht Psalter,⁶⁹ on whose title-page the accusative **LUCAM** is changed to the Greek spelling **LUCAN**, and inserted into the border is an invocation to the Virgin—in impeccable Greek—asking her benediction on the scribe (Fig. 1, facing page 238). Professor Lowe dates the fragment ca. 700; which makes one think of the mission of Theodore of Tarsus, and the possibility that one of his companions may have migrated into Northumbria.

With reference to such indications of Greek infiltration into the Western scriptoria, an observation of Meyer Schapiro's is in order here: "The earlier dating of Castelseprio would permit us to understand the remarkable persistence of illusionistic forms with deep landscape in Carolingian miniature paintings of around 800 in the Rhineland. It is hard to believe that after the long period of stylized, ornamental painting during the later seventh and eighth centuries in the North, the German artists were able to reproduce models of the fourth and fifth centuries so successfully without a prior training in this southern style or the direct help of foreign teachers to whom these naturalistic forms were customary."⁷⁰ Schapiro is evidently referring to the Gospel-books of Vienna (Schatzkammer Gospels), of Xanten, and of Aachen. The first of these exhibits portraits of the Evangelists without their symbols, which is good evidence of a Greek model, since omission of the symbol from the Evangelist portrait is characteristic of Greek Gospel-books down to the twelfth century. The Vienna Evangelists also sit in an open landscape, which reappears in the Aachen Gospels and in those of Xanten. A sewed-in folio of the last-named manuscript contains an Evangelist portrait,

69. See the note on this subject by Professor Lowe in this issue, pp. 237f.

70. Review of Bognetti, et al., *S. Maria di Castelseprio*, in the *Magazine of Art*, December 1950. The theme is developed in the review of Weitzmann already cited, with an impressive citation of the survival of Castelseprio motifs of iconography in Carolingian and later manuscripts and monuments. This seems to have mainly influenced Schapiro's conclusion à propos of Castelseprio that "we may assume . . . either a revival of the classic styles in Italy in the generation before about 780—and this might be connected with the iconoclastic controversy and the flight of Greek monks to Italy in the 760's, a view already expressed by Goldschmidt—or a persistent, if uneven, tradition of classic forms in Italy throughout the eighth century, which does not exclude a recurrent stimulus, especially in the last decades, from Byzantium" (p. 160). The foregoing implies a dating in the eighth century for the frescoes of Castelseprio for which Schapiro furnishes two pieces of evidence, one iconographic, the other stylistic. The item of iconography is very interesting and new: that the transverse clavi that cross the thighs of the angels at Castelseprio, and the same place in Joseph's drapery in the *Dream*, are "practically unknown in Byzantine art," yet fairly frequent in early Carolingian art, pointing thus "to a time not before the second half of the eighth century." Schapiro does not seem to have canvassed the possibility suggested by his own conception of Greek inspiration of early Carolingian art, that this detail, like the omission of the Evangelist's symbol and the introduction of landscape, may be due to imitation of Greek originals, known to Caro-

lingian miniaturists and ivory-carvers but not necessarily of their period nor valid for setting a *terminus a quo*. The ornament is of the same character as the waist band worn by David in the miniature of the *Penitence* in the Paris Psalter, and in any case has an earlier and Egyptian history, being found on the thighs of the mounted Amazons in a silk textile of Akhmim type in the Cote Collection at Lyon (Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, II, pl. 186). One of Schapiro's examples of its use in Italy is drawn from a figure in the frescoes of S. Vincenzo al Volturno, which to him indicate "the existence . . . of a strong fresco art related to Castelseprio and the new forms in the North. . . . We cannot see the angel of the Annunciation [at S. Vincenzo] without thinking of Castelseprio; he has much of the sweep and force of the angel who addresses the sleeping Joseph in the latter, though the forms are more schematic" (p. 162). Decidedly more schematic; these frescoes of the ninth century (826-843; reproduced in M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, Princeton, 1936, II, pls. CXC-CXCIV) show many features that look like imitation of the school of Castelseprio and S. Maria Antiqua—the wide sweep of the angels' wings, the globe they bear, the Child inclosed in a mandorla in the Madonna-type employed, the clavi on the thigh, the vase-shaped basin in which the midwives bathe the Child—but what "sweep and force" they have is a borrowed element, degrees removed from the authentic Hellenism of Castelseprio, to match whose style, and that of the Greek frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua, one will explore in vain the mediaeval painting of Italy.

imitated by the Matthew of the Vienna codex, which is so un-Latin in style that it strongly suggests the hand of a Greek artist.⁷¹ We may note here again the repetition of the Castelseprio border ornament in a Carolingian fresco at Münster (text fig. 1, a).

In view of the Carolingian derivatives of it cited above, we must recognize the survival of Hellenistic illusionism—the Alexandrian style—not only in the Carolingian period but *a fortiori* in the seventh century as well. The weight of evidence would place the frescoes of Castelseprio in the second half of that century, or at the latest ca. 700, and they carry with them into the same approximate date the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and the drawings of the Joshua Roll.⁷² The Hellenistic naturalism of these cycles stands out in conspicuous isolation in the period, by reason of the domination of the rest of the Christian Mediterranean, and even to some extent Egypt itself outside of Alexandria, by the Christian version of the Neo-Attic classic tradition. This reduction of Attic beauty to a two-dimensional, timeless, spaceless manner, fitted as no other to the timeless, spaceless concepts of the Faith, had overrun the Christian world to such an extant that, though its habitual iconography shows origin in Syria and Palestine, its outstanding examples that remain to us from the sixth century are the mosaics of Italy. This is the style the Palestinian monks painted on the walls of S. Saba on the Aventine in Rome; it is the manner that preceded and followed the intrusion of Alexandrian style, in the latter half of the seventh century and the early eighth, at S. Maria Antiqua. It dominated the art of Italy until the Benedictine importation of Byzantine in the eleventh century, and was the style employed, along with an archaic iconography, by the painters of the underground churches of Cappadocia until the same century.

The Persian and Arab conquests scattered the schools of Alexandrian painting throughout the Mediterranean. Some of these exiles have left traces of themselves in the Latin scriptoria of the West, on the evidence of the frontispiece of the Gospel-fragment bound in with the Utrecht Psalter, the Greek landscape motifs of that Psalter itself, and the new un-Latin elements in the miniature painting of the early Carolingian schools. There is some evidence also that purveyors of the Alexandrian style settled and worked at Salonica in the seventh century.⁷³ Some came to Rome in the time of Pope Martin I and decorated the apse and choir of S. Maria Antiqua, leaving behind them pupils who continued their manner into the eighth century with decreasing understanding and a change of labels from Greek to Latin. Another painter of the same school, the finest artist the early Middle Age has left us, found his way, in the wake of one of the missions from Rome sent out to combat the Aquileian schism and convert the Lombards from Arianism to orthodoxy, to Castelseprio. Others, and the Alexandrian illustrated texts they brought with them, came to Constantinople, where they, or their pupils, and their miniatures housed in the imperial libraries, ex-

71. On this miniature, cf. Hanns Swarzenski, *ART BULLETIN*, xxii (1940), and Schapiro in the review of Weitzmann before-cited, note 122.

72. Schapiro, reviewing Weitzmann, does not accept this community of style and school. Comparing the frescoes with the Psalter's miniatures (pp. 150f.), he finds the Castelseprio painter's "brush stroke, his command of atmospheric perspective, of light and shade, of landscape and architectural forms . . . much freer and also more faithful to ancient tradition. His rocks and trees are less stylized. The lights . . . form more active, varied patterns." These are distinctions one might make between an unusually gifted artist such as the author of our frescoes, and less distinguished ones of the same period and general school, between the free creative play of fresco and the meticulous detail of miniature painting; above all, between original and copy. But when Schapiro speaks of the Psalter's "cluttered, concocted quality," its "literalness of the hand and the mind, [and] lack of spontaneous feeling," the adjectives call to mind the pictures by the head master's assistants rather than the head master's own *David as Harper, Isaiah*, and the

Hezekiah. With reference to such miniatures, and considering the difference in the scenes portrayed as well as the limitations of book illustration, it is hardly fair to say that "in no scene [of the Psalter] are the figures proportioned to the landscape and set so deeply within it as in the Nativity in the Italian cycle" and that "in the Psalter we feel more strongly the closeness of the figures to the frame and the foreground."

Schapiro agrees with Weitzmann that "if a work is a copy, it will betray the period of copying in intimate features of the copyist's own style." Yet he himself seems to feel the anomalous effect of the style of the Psalter's copyists when viewed within the picture of tenth century Byzantine painting, describing it as a "momentary deflection from its highest capacities and aims" (*Gaz. B.-A.*, 1949, p. 168). Whoever reviews the list of identities between Castelseprio and the Psalter and the Roll set forth by Weitzmann will find it difficult to believe with Schapiro that two centuries separate the frescoes and the miniatures.

73. Morey, "A Note on the Date of the Mosaic of Hosios David," *Byzantium*, vii (1932), pp. 339ff.

erted an influence somewhat, and certainly to a much lesser degree, comparable to that of the Carmine on the young Florentine painters of the fifteenth century.

The Iconoclastic Controversy must have retarded the progress of this infiltration, as it held up artistic evolution in other respects. But after the close of the Controversy, in the ninth and tenth centuries, we see the new leaven working, in the use of the miniatures and ornament of the Paris Psalter and other examples of the same style, by the painters of the Paris Gregory and the Leo Bible, ca. 900; in the tenth century its effect can be traced in the introduction of Alexandrian backgrounds into the Evangelist portraits of Stavronikita 43, the Gospel-book of Vienna (theol. gr. 240), and Paris Coisl. 195, and in the more authentic antique aspect assumed by the Evangelists themselves. At the end of this century we find groups of the Joshua Roll copied on the ivory caskets, and in the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II assimilation of this exotic style is carried to the point of fullest saturation it ever attained in Byzantine painting. Here it brings with it types of Gospel iconography new to Byzantine art, and reduces the Alexandrian figures, their movement, and their picturesque ambiente to a stylization that nevertheless retains the mountains, trees, architectures, and narrative tone of the original manner, but without its freedom and search for space, sterilizing its impressionism with formulas and stiff drawing, eliminating its atmosphere with a gold background, just as did some German painters of the fifteenth century when they first adopted the Flemish landscape. What could be absorbed of Alexandrian Hellenism was neutralized by the Neo-Attic-Asiatic two-dimensional tradition of Constantinople, which never fails to provide the core of any phenomenon of Byzantine painting. A modicum of surviving Hellenism enters Byzantine art in this fashion, enough to put some volume into the flat icons of Neo-Attic-Asiatic style, and to give them human as well as divine dignity. The final fusion of this lingering Hellenism with the capital's native manner came not in the tenth but in the eleventh century, when in both art and literature there is evident a realization of antique norms and standards. But the ideal that transpires from the best works of the eleventh century, such as the fine ivories of the "Romanos" group and the mosaics of Daphni, is not Hellenistic but Hellenic, not the lively naturalism of Alexandria but the serenity of Periclean sculpture. It is not in the tenth century but in the eleventh, and not so much by copying as by a recovered affinity of feeling, that Byzantine style has finally absorbed enough of the nobility of Attic art in its finest hour to merit the title of a renaissance.

ON SUBJECT AND NOT-SUBJECT IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE PICTURES*

CREIGHTON GILBERT

No technique of research in Renaissance art has recently had more success—or more deserved it—than iconology. This is a method of study which we may agree to define by its general practice, rather than by the more complex statement of its best-known proponent,¹ as the investigation of the meanings of a work of art, the interpretation of it by its literary or philosophical context. It is not iconography, which tends to be simply the identifying of subject matter for cataloguing purposes; pictures with the same iconography may well have different iconologies.

There are several reasons for this success. The significant one is plainly that in many cases the results are true to history and could not otherwise have been obtained. If other instances are in dispute or plainly false, that of course is no indictment of the technique. Secondary factors have helped to make this an attractive approach. In comparison with stylistic analysis the data are neat; correlations between work of art and intellectual context often have a one-to-one definiteness. Again, it fits the present interest in cultural history, the dominant patterns of societies, which we are lifting to equal importance with major specific persons and things. In one sense, this is really part of the appeal of neatness; stylistic and other methods may have just as intrinsic evidences of cultural history, but show them with less verbal directness. For all of this, the Renaissance seems a most favorable field. If the Middle Ages have a more public and standardized set of symbols, amenable to the simpler attack of iconography, later periods show a well-known tendency to loosen or dispense with associative values.

At the same time, there is a marked opposition to the existence of iconological studies at all. Being a negative action, it has not produced numerous documents—aside from the curious development in which “iconologist” is a term of obscurantist or philistine abuse among those who use “intellectual” for the same end. Yet the opposition is familiar to every student. Its basis may be called romantic, traditionalist, or stylistic, and its main weapon is the claim that iconology is silent on the value of works of art. It can be strongly argued that the only *raison d'être* for art history is that works of art create values in objects, and that the scholar's duty is mainly to analyze this process. Yet for the iconologist, it is held, the weakest engraving that exhibits some complex cosmology is as fascinating as the masterpieces where the cosmology is given breath by the artist's imaginative understanding. A glance at the iconological literature shows some truth in this. It also shows that it usually deals with major works; yet since its enthusiasm seems equally distributed, it may be that stylistic taste had previously made these conspicuous.

For that matter, the iconologist does not take stylistic studies to task. He often produces them separately. Yet the historian of style is not satisfied. He considers that stylistic studies, which are more important, are harmed by the existence of iconology. This argument may be clarified by an

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Antonio Morassi lent his unique photograph of the reconstruction of *The Tempest*, after which the one used here for Fig. 12 was made. Acknowledgment is made to Fratelli Alinari, Florence, for the use of a photograph for Figs. 1 and 3.

1. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, Chapter 1. This book marks an epoch in the study of the history of art in America, since it introduced in a fully developed state a technique which had developed gradually abroad.

example; for the purpose, a recent study may be cited written by Mr. E. H. Gombrich, who is not only a persuasive scholar in iconology but thoroughly and articulately aware of the methodological question. In discussing Botticelli's *Primavera*, he begins with a devastating critique of the romantic nineteenth century comments, showing their vacuity and their basis in the motivations of their own period.² He himself comes to the implications of style near the beginning of his essay: "These romantic constructions would never have been as successful as they were had it not been for certain qualities in Botticelli's art, which easily lends itself to the most contradictory interpretations . . . the haunting character of Botticelli's physiognomies not only permits but demands interpretations. These puzzling and wistful faces give us no rest. . . ." Yet throughout his enquiry on the meaning of the picture the author does not return to interpret the "haunting physiognomies."³ So far as its validity is concerned, the *Primavera* might be in quite a different style, of equal or lower quality. Thus, though the cogency of his subject analysis destroys the romanticists' fancies, it omits a real factor with which they grappled. Perhaps such is not the business of this specialized study. Or is style not subject to precise definition, unlike subject? That one would deny, since it too has its successful along with its forgotten instances. Or is the style of a work irrelevant to its treatment of a theme?

This last alternative, if indeed it is implicit in the treatment of Mr. Gombrich here (though not always in his work) and of many other writers, is certainly to be rejected. It is rejected in the standard theoretical statement of iconology and its finest illustrations.⁴ In principle iconology claims to handle the work of art totally, so that cultural context, subject, and style fuse in the handiwork of the artist.⁵ This is a rare achievement in any sort of research. While the stylistic historian has his own stumbling blocks, here the delightful new understanding of content often produces a sense of complete achievement. Only one full success would justify the method—and every reader knows more than one.

Even here a new and subtle problem arises. In such a study the subject-complex has of course priority in space, logic, and interest. This means that, if the style no longer is discarded as irrelevant to the theme, it obtains a more subtle kind of subordination: it appears as the logical outcome of calculations drawn from the cultural-thematic background. In this paper a different procedure is intended. By giving the stylistic problem equal and independent weight, and then correlating it with the subject problem, a vivid observation of the process of production should appear. It may be that the artist's most fascinating moments of success came when the problem in his commission could interlock with his own pre-existing, even whimsical, stylistic attitudes.

If this difficulty is almost intangible, the other objection raised against iconology to be treated here is clear-cut and elementary. This is the often-cited claim that subject was of no interest to the artist.

Once again the point is made with special precision by Mr. Gombrich: "There are still some who object to iconographical analysis on the ground of its alleged artistic irrelevance. The artist, it has been argued, was not concerned with the 'frigid allegories' worked out by some humanist pedant. He may neither have known nor cared what intricate points his learned advisers wished to make."⁶

If the romantic historian really takes this tack, his position will be weak. There do not seem to be statements by artists which would illustrate such a view. Iconology on this basis would be at the least relevant to the cultural context of which artist as well as "humanist pedant" is a part. Further, the position is not only plainly affected by nineteenth century attitudes toward art for art's sake and

2. "Botticelli's Mythologies: A Study in the Neo-Platonic Humanism of His Circle," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VIII, 1945, pp. 7-60. The quotation here is from p. 11.

3. It seems frequently true in iconological study, as here, that the closest approach to utilizing stylistic analysis is in discussions of typological traditions.

4. Some of the finest examples are studies not historically in the iconological tradition. A classic instance is M. Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque at Silos," *ART BULLETIN*, XXI, 1939, pp. 313-374.

5. Panofsky, *op.cit.*

6. "Botticelli's Mythologies," p. 40.

twentieth century attitudes toward abstraction, but it is arguing a negative. He can only argue that things did not occur, while the iconologist is producing his texts to show what did. The oddest part of the case is that, if there should be evidences of the rejection of subject and symbol in the Renaissance, the student of style will not find them, for their discovery would be a typical result of the kind of study he dismisses and the iconologist cultivates.

The situation of our studies in the Renaissance thus leads us as the ultimate point of logic to refer back to reality: are there documents of such rejection? A theme of this paper is that there are, both in texts and in pictures. Below several texts will be analyzed briefly and several pictures more at length—mainly because the analysis must be less direct. In the latter case, in order to underline that there is no intention of trying to oust iconology, for each of the artists whose work seems to include a picture without symbolic subject, another picture will be analyzed to show precise and elaborate iconological content.

I

The above observations suggest that not artist's writing but humanist writing will provide our evidence, if there is any. The artists as a rule are not articulate, and the humanists, we suppose, had the ultimate say about subject. Three humanist texts are relevant, and they will be cited in reverse chronological order because this moves from the simple to the complex.

They have several points in common. All the writers were distinguished people, whose cultural influence needs no demonstration. All the passages actually deal explicitly with painting. This fact needs to be underlined. When writings of these and similar people are cited in connection with iconological analysis, they are in the great majority of cases writings about something else—religion, mythology, philosophy. There is a burden of proof to show that the views expressed in such passages were ever expected to turn up explicitly in pictures. After observing these quotations, it will, perhaps, at least no longer be possible simply to assume so, any more than Hegel's views on such a subject might be expected to appear directly in the works of Géricault.

The first quotation is from a dialogue written in 1527 by the famous Bishop Paolo Giovio. It is a discussion of Dosso Dossi and is of the period of that artist's early maturity.

The elegant intelligence of the Ferrarese Dosso was shown not only in normal works, but most of all in those that are called oddments [*parerga*]. For, pursuing the charming little diversions of painting with pleasurable labor, he was in the habit of bringing before one's eyes with merry, free and festive hand sharp crags, thick groves, dark shores of rivers, flourishing rural affairs, the busy and happy activities of farmers, the broadest expanses of the land and sea as well, fleets, markets, hunts, and all that sort of spectacle.⁷

Giovio here indicates that Dosso preferred landscape and genre⁸ to formal production, and the vivid garrulity of the comment indicates that the writer did so likewise. Strictly speaking, this is not evidence for what Dosso did, or what his specific patrons asked of him. But it shows unquestionably that it was possible for a culturally influential Italian to think of painting in genre terms in 1527. We must therefore be prepared at any time to find a parallel sort of painting. This passage alone suffices to exclude any view that a Renaissance picture *must* have an allusive subject.

The world of preference into which we are here introduced is Ariostean: sensuous, capricious, inconsequent. Ariosto was perhaps the outstanding recorder of aristocratic attitudes in this locus; various artists illustrated his poem elaborately in all its casual and whimsical charm, and the tone of his work should be given more weight than the writings of lesser figures in his locus who in-

7. Quoted in H. Mendelsohn, *Das Werk der Dossi*, Munich, 1913, p. 197, from *Fragmentum Trium Dialogarum Pauli Jovii Episcopi Nucerini*, as reprinted by Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VII-4, 1824, Vol. XIII, pp. 2444-2498.

8. The odd word "parergon" is evidently an allusion of Giovio's to some text. The source appears to be Strabo, who

in discussing Rhodes speaks of the painter Protogenes. He was annoyed with the Rhodians for having admired a petty anecdotal or virtuoso aspect of a serious painting, which, he feared, transformed it from an "ergon" into a "parergon." (Strabo, *Iota Delta*, c652.)

vented symbolisms. The reader will immediately think of several works of Dosso which are more or less connected with this tone, even though such pictures in small scale and private ownership are disproportionately subject to loss and destruction. There is the *Three Ages of Man* of the Metropolitan Museum, recently studied with well founded arguments to suggest that it is a fragment.⁹ But since this study did not take into account this document for the production of *parerga* by Dosso, it might well be looked into further. There is the picture in Washington rather awkwardly labeled *The Argonauts*, which fits in better and contains many of the specific elements that Giovio cites. But I would prefer to illustrate the point by an almost unknown picture in the Museum of Besançon (Fig. 9).¹⁰ Over and above its great interest, it is especially appropriate. If it were a seventeenth century work, it would immediately be cited as a genre work, i.e., a picture representing a *typical* event, familiar to the observer from his own life, as against a *specific* event, illustrating a narrative. It is genre in the sense that we can immediately understand it out of experience, while it contains no single factor which would help in suggesting a particular narrative subject. Possibly it is this disturbing genre character which has caused its neglect in the Dosso studies.

Our second citation is a discussion of the artist by Ficino. It is especially remarkable in that Ficino's writings have been constantly cited in connection with pictures, but this statement actually on painting has been almost ignored. Even Mr. Gombrich, to whom in the study already cited we owe its lifting from the bulk of Ficino's work, only brings it in as a kind of coda and without the thorough commentary which he provides for other passages.

All the works of art which pertain to vision or hearing proclaim the whole of the artist's mind. . . . In paintings and buildings the wisdom and skill of the artist shines forth. Moreover, we can see in them the attitude and the image, as it were, of his mind; for in these works the mind expresses and reflects itself not otherwise than a mirror reflects the face of a man who looks into it. To the greatest degree the mind reveals itself in speeches, songs and skillful harmonies. In these the whole disposition and will of the mind becomes manifest. Whatever the emotion of the artist his work will usually excite in us an identical emotion, a mournful voice often compels us to weep, an angry one to become furious, a sensual one to be lascivious. For the works which pertain to vision and hearing are closest to the artist's mind.¹¹

For Ficino the work of art, equally in painting, sculpture, architecture, spoken literature, and music, is a reflection of the artist's feelings, specifically the "primitive" feelings of grief, anger, lust, or the like, and it produces a similar emotive response in the observer. The idea was evidently not new, and yet it has perhaps a particular relevance to its locus. In any case, such a function of art is something apart from the exposition of symbolism. In fact, it tends to exclude it, for it is widely assumed and with some basis that the symbolisms of the Renaissance were not in the artist's feelings but in the humanist adviser's. Thus, even if Ficino set up actual programs for pictures (for which there seems to be no evidence), he recognized at the very least a co-existent strong personal expression of the artist. And this personal expression which interests Ficino is not doctrinal, but emotive.¹²

By an unexpected route, this brings us back to the aspect of Botticelli which, like the Ficino passage, Mr. Gombrich raised with his unfailing completeness, only to leave it unexplored. When he departs from the romantic critic's emphasis on facial expression, he is departing from an aspect of the painting which Ficino considered important. Ficino as contemporary evidence is important to any enquiry about the intention of the painting, and this study uses Ficino throughout, but uses

9. On this and the following picture, see E. Tietze-Conrat, "Two Dosso Puzzles in Washington and New York," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th Ser., XXXIII, 1948, pp. 129-136.

10. It has, to be sure, not missed Roberto Longhi's eye for the curious, and was first published by him under the title "Favola Boschereccia" and as Dosso in *Vita Artistica*, II, 1927, p. 95. The attribution seemed plainly correct to me on inspection in 1939.

11. M. Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1576, p. 229, quoted by Gombrich, *loc.cit.*, p. 59.

12. As Gombrich points out (*ibid.*, p. 58), the one picture known to have belonged to Ficino represented Heraclitus and Democritus, the weeping and laughing philosophers. He was naturally interested in philosophers (though not most in these), and may, as Gombrich suggests, have built an allusive pattern around their images. But he certainly was interested at least as much in the emotional force of their facial expressions, and presumably had this picture foremost in view when writing that this was a major factor in art.

his theoretical statements to the exclusion of his statements about painting. We may wonder whether Ficino supposed that his symbolic structures in philosophy would appear in any ascertainable form in painting, and we must at any rate find the romantic historian's instinctive approach considerably bolstered by the neo-Platonic writer.

Our third citation has to do with a rather simple matter but involves a more roundabout procedure. Perhaps the point at issue is more iconographic than iconological. Some years ago appeared a study on the motif of the sleeping Christ Child held by the Virgin, which has had the distinction of being cited as an authority in subsequent research. The hypothesis was that the image of the Child asleep is an allusion to the Pietà in which the dead Christ appears in the same pose on the Virgin's knees.¹³ It was supported by numerous pictures showing sarcophagi (Fig. 5) (unless they were meant only as balustrades) and in a few cases more definite Passion symbols. Texts from religious discourse were utilized, which make a parallel between the sleep and the death of Christ. About these texts there is an oddity: they all date before 1400, with one factitious exception,¹⁴ while the paintings all date after 1400. If the correlation is correct, why are there not examples of the motif at the time the idea was most in the air? Taking another approach, what was there about 1400 to jog the motif into being, as well as to suppress the parallelizing text? One sort of change certainly occurred in the production of paintings in Italy about 1400, and that is the change of style away from hieratic images to realistic contemporaneity. The sleeping Child appears at the same moment; if there is any connection, then he is being shown in a genre motif. This was assumed by "romantic" historians, but is doubtful to observers of iconography, who feel that it is questionable whether any major element in a Renaissance painting can lack a symbolic reference.

Now there actually exists a text on the subject of paintings with sleeping Christ Children, and why they should be painted, written in the early fifteenth century. It appears in a book on family morality by the Cardinal Giovanni Dominici. Of him it should be observed that he is exactly the kind of person whom any scholar might have in mind when making hypotheses about the advisers behind the programs of paintings. He was not only a Cardinal but the head of the Dominican order, the spiritual adviser also of aristocratic families, the book here quoted having been written for a lady of such a family. Most strikingly, he was a conservative; his *magnum opus* was a vehement attack on the more advanced humanists for their supposed paganism.¹⁵ He cannot be considered a proponent of novelties which would not be executed. Yet he urges that paintings of the sleeping Child be executed, explaining why, and addressing a lady of the patron class. It can hardly be doubted that the theme functioned as he meant it.

The quotation is from the section on the education of children,¹⁶ the first chapter of which is "On Education with Regard to God":

The first regulation is to have pictures of saintly children or young virgins in the home, in which your child, still in swaddling clothes, may take delight and thereby may be gladdened by acts and sights pleasing to childhood. And what I say of pictures applies also to statues. It is well to have the Virgin Mary with the Child in arms, with a little bird or apple in His hand. There should be a good representation of Jesus nursing, sleeping in His mother's lap, or standing courteously before Her while they look at each other. So let the child see him-

13. G. Firestone, "The Sleeping Christ Child in Italian Renaissance Representations of the Madonna," *Marsyas*, II, 1942, pp. 43-62. The author's final statement is: "It would seem conclusive . . . that the motif was intended by the Renaissance artist, and understood by the contemporary spectator, as a prefiguration of the death of Christ, and that such an interpretation must indeed be applicable in every instance."

14. This exception is a citation from San Bernardino (p. 45, cited from E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1925, p. 124). While in the earlier statements the Mother with the Infant meditates on his future death, here she is described holding her dead Son and reminded of his infancy. The former activity is prophetic and

miraculous, the latter naturalistic and sentimental. Such a shift is in accordance with the general shift of attitude between the centuries suggested below.

15. Giovanni Dominici (1357-1419), after a prolonged residence in Venice, became reader of Sacred Theology at the Studio of Florence in 1403. He was Dominican Vicar General in 1391 and Cardinal in 1408. In 1405 he wrote his attack on "pagan" humanism, *Lucula Noctis*. (Ed. E. Hunt, *Notre Dame*, 1940.)

16. *Regola del governo di cura familiare, parte quarta: On the Education of Children*, trans. and ed. A. B. Coté, Washington, 1927, Chapter 1.

self mirrored in the Holy Baptist clothed in camel's skin, a little child, who enters the desert, plays with the birds, sucks the honeyed flowers and sleeps on the grass. It will not be amiss if he sees Jesus and the Baptist, Jesus and the boy Evangelist pictured together; the slaughtered Innocents, so that he may learn the fear of weapons and of armed men. . . . [Similar themes for the upbringing of girls are cited.¹⁷] I should like them to see . . . other such representations as may give them with their milk love of the Virgin, a longing for Christ, a hatred of sin, make them despise vanity, avoid bad company and begin through the contemplation of the saints the contemplation of the supreme saint of saints. For this reason you should know that representations of the angels and saints are permitted and intended for the instruction of the unlearned.

The correspondence of this list of themes with the most common themes of quattrocento painting is remarkably high. Some of the themes, to be sure, have an earlier history, such as the bird. But it is clear that to the theologian of this date the symbolic meaning which the bird evidently had in earlier periods was either not known or not important to impart to his spiritual child. The bird is continued and reinterpreted under the press of new and urgent needs, and coincidentally further motives such as the sleeping Child are associated with it.

Certainly Dominici's sleeping Child would not be a simple genre motive; the function of the image is to produce a religious attitude. Yet so far is the method of so doing from being recondite, it is not even theological; it is moral on a very simple level, working on the genre aspects, so to speak, of our own life. It is the sacred equivalent of Dosso's special pleasure in a long list of everyday subjects, deriving value from the recognition of typical familiar activity. Perhaps such a procedure is much at home in the Renaissance. It lies between the abstract and meditated programs of mediaeval art and the non-allusive art of the late nineteenth century; it alludes, but only to what is easily seized. It lies in religious development parallel to the so-called "imminent" theology of the Renaissance, between mediaeval transcendence and modern secularity. It is not pagan as a Scholastic might call it, not superstitious as a Positivist might call it. It would be wrong to call it "transitional," as is so easily done, for it is as much a rounded articulate standpoint as the earlier and later ones. Where it appears in painting it might be called, if a formula is required, *imminent symbolism*.¹⁸

Dominici's procedure has links not only with the Giovio text but with Ficino. For both, the effectiveness of the painting depends on identification between its mood and the observer's. For Ficino, the angry figure in the picture makes us angry; for Dominici, the Christ Child should act in the picture in ways natural to the observing child, to excite his interest and imitation more widely. For Alberti at an intermediate date, it may be recalled, the definition of painting was as a mirror-image, of which the *locus classicus* is Narcissus staring at himself in the water: painting is to produce a mirror-image of the observer.¹⁹ The idea has a long life and a good deal of power. Ficino's version, at least, is closely echoed by Dolce in 1557 at the end of the Renaissance.²⁰

17. The subjects suitable for the contemplation of girls, such as the eleven thousand virgins, SS. Agnes, Cecilia, and others, are notably less familiar in the work of quattrocento painters. Not only are these saints less important in themselves than the Baptist or Christ, but the lesser interest in the education of girls is illustrated here as elsewhere. The emphasis on the boys in Ghirlandaio's various images of the Sassetta clan is a case in point. Cf. also such quattrocento treatises on education as Alberti's *Della Famiglia* and Matteo Palmieri's *Della Vita Civile*.

18. It perhaps needs to be underlined again that this motivation is not being urged as the exclusive one in operation. It would surely be a pity, in reaction from the exclusive claim for the allusive and symbolic interpretation, to run to the opposite extreme. Lest this *caveat* appear merely *pro forma*, by anticipation the reader may be referred to a proposed example of a sleeping Child referring to the death of Christ argued later in this paper.

No picture seems more likely to be of the second type than Tura's small house-tabernacle, now in the Venice Academy.

The richly red grapes of the swags are picked by birds, and in the arch above more usual images give way to a host, marked IHS; thus the body and blood are present. Below, the sleep is cited in an inscribed prayer in a couplet, beginning "Sviglia il Tuo Figlio, Dolce Madra Pia. . . ." (The second line, no doubt completely familiar at the time, is concealed.) Yet this observation only serves to teach us that, if we go so far with the interpretation, we must go on a good deal further. For the standard explanations do not take care of another evident part of the symbolism, the Zodiaca wheel drawn in gold on the background.

19. L. B. Alberti, "Della Pittura," in his *Kleinere Kunstretheoretische Schriften*, ed. Janitschek (*Quellenschriften für Kunsts geschichte*, xi), Vienna, 1877, p. 93. "Che dirai tu essere dipigniere altra cosa che simile abbracciare con arte, quella ivi superficie del fonte?"

20. Dolce wrote: "An artist cannot move unless first in making the figures he feels in his mind [*animo*] those passions or sentiments [*affetti*] which he would impress on another's." This seems congruent with Ficino's "Whatever the emotion of

II

Yet the real evidence is in the pictures. Those discussed here are famous subject-matter puzzles. In Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation*, the normal image of this event is on the left, but the three monumental figures on the right call for interpretation (Fig. 1). A standard theory (actually a truly romantic invention of the early nineteenth century!) calls the central youth the murdered Count of Urbino, and the two others his counselors whose bad advice led to his assassination.²¹ However, though types and antetypes are common enough as between Old and New Testament, and between the lives of Christ and the saints, one between Christ and a modern man would be far from regular. Moreover, there is not a really neat parallel between the two stories, nor between the two representations. In any case, it can be proved that these figures are not portraits of anyone (Fig. 3). This is done through showing that they are, instead, Piero's regular figure types which he repeated in many places. The left-hand figure reappears among the kneeling suppliants in Piero's *Altar of Mercy* in Borgo San Sepolcro (Fig. 2). The man in the altarpiece is certainly not a portrait, but if it were held that he was, he would be a citizen of Borgo, not a Count's Chancellor in Urbino!²² The central figure of our three in the *Flagellation* has the same face as an angel in Piero's *London Baptism* (Fig. 4). The established portraits of Piero are, on the other hand, as intensely individual as anything in the Renaissance.

If these figures then are intended to be recognized as particular persons, they would have to be identified by attributes, like saints, or at least by specialized gestures alluding to their story. Nothing of the sort can be seen. The conclusion is that they are not specific persons; they have to be the ever-recurring bystanders at public events in Italian Renaissance pictures. Their only difference from all other such bystanders (aside from the monumentality set up by Piero's modeling) is their position and, as a result, their size, making them paradoxically more imposing than the official protagonists.

But even this is by no means unique. A Fogg Museum drawing, attributed to Foppa, which at first glance gives the appearance of an architectural sketch, turns out to contain a tiny *Flagellation* scene at the furthest remove of space (Fig. 7).²³ This lacks the foreground figures, but several well-known drawings of Jacopo Bellini show the small Christ of a *Flagellation* lost in a crowd, all the figures fixed in perspective recession (Fig. 8). Here no one would think of attributing subject-matter meanings to the more prominent foreground figures. They are obviously bystanders; so are Piero's.²⁴ Aside from the distinctions of style and what that implies, the only difference in Piero's

the artist, his work will usually excite in us an identical emotion," quoted above. It would appear, then, that Dolce's idea is not in a specific sense a "cardinal mannerist doctrine," as suggested by the writer who recently quoted this passage. For that matter, a man of Dolce's taste—which exalted Titian at Michael Angelo's expense—would be expected to theorize less in mannerist ways than in a projection of the Renaissance. (Cf. J. Pope-Hennessy, "Nicholas Hilliard and Mannerist Art Theory," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vi, 1943, p. 96.)

21. Accepted in most of the modern monographs, e.g., R. Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, trans. Penlock, London, 1930, pp. 45 and 160. It is rejected by Sir K. Clark (*Piero della Francesca*, London, 1951, pp. 19ff.), who proposes instead a connection with the Councils for reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches because of the Paleologan look of the left figure, although this leaves the other two, as he points out, unexplained. Remarking that "This is not, obviously, a picture of the *Flagellation* with three indifferent onlookers," he dismisses this line of investigation as needing no analysis. Later he makes the interesting observation: "The *Flagellation* is also enigmatic in its design. No other painting which has come down to us, except perhaps Uccello's *Deluge*, is so complete an expression of the Renaissance *mystique* of measurement, known as perspective." It would seem that the two enigmas of theme and design, here treated in separate parallel lines, might

profitably be connected together. Cf. *infra*.

22. Although this little group of kneeling figures stands for the (presumably far more numerous) Confraternity which ordered the picture, the fact that they indifferently do or do not wear masks would make it awkward to consider them as donor portraits.

23. Catalogue No. 14. The attribution to Foppa is problematic. (*Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, 1940, 1 [text], No. 14; II [plates], figs. 16 and 17.)

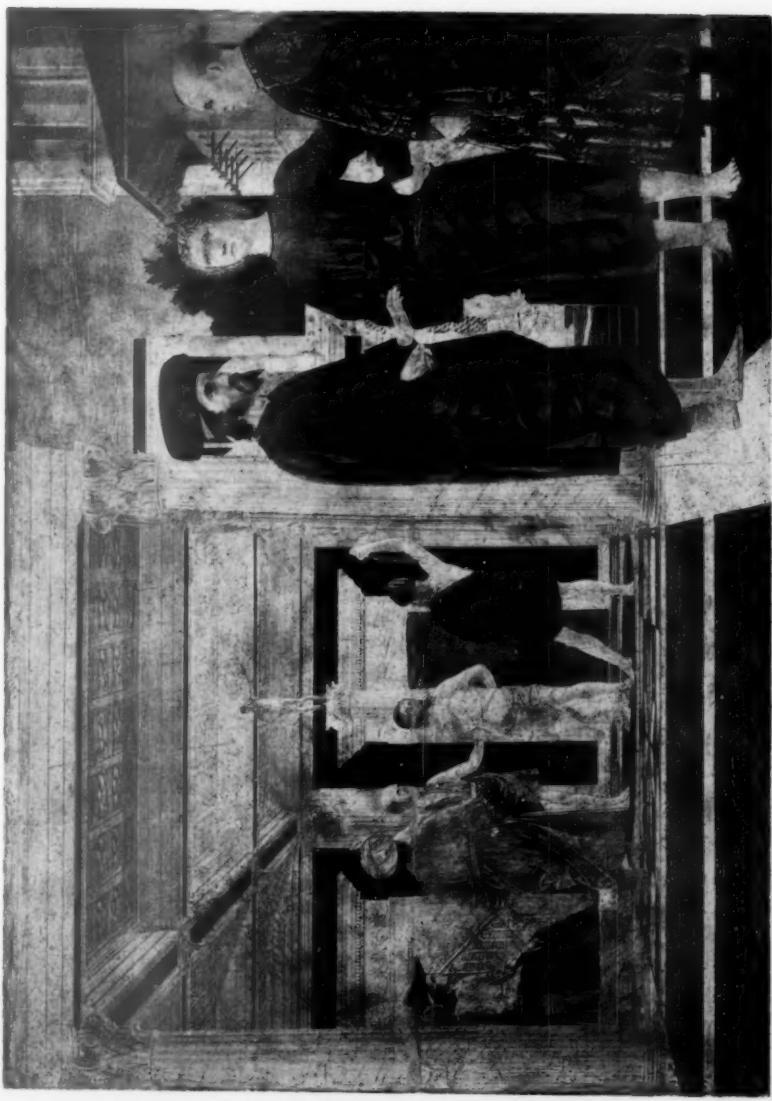
24. V. Goloubew, *Les dessins de Jacopo Bellini*, Brussels, 1908, I, pl. xc1; II, pls. III, X, and "C." Symbolic references in these drawings have been noted by C. de Mandach, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5th ser., vi, 1922, pp. 39ff. It is instructive that even on a surface level all his symbolic figures show themselves such by special unnaturalistic attributes or gestures, distinguishing themselves thus from the groups of casuals. Jacopo Bellini and Piero della Francesca have a parallel relation to the invention of perspective in terms of cultural geography. Both visited Florence briefly in their youth (1423 and 1439) during the height of the first excitement, which afterwards diminished there a good deal. But they, returning to their own "provincial" native areas, spun out perspective intricacies throughout their lives with an almost manic dedication not known in Florence. There is even a partial parallel in Jacopo's career to the perspective book written by Piero. This is a work on the same subject by the Paduan scientific writer (on animals,



1. Piero della Fran-
cesca, *Flagellation
of Christ*. Urbino



2. Piero della Fran-
cesca, head of kneel-
ing figure at left,
from *Altar of Mercy*.
Borgo San Sepolcro



3. Piero della Fran-
cesca, detail of
Fig. 1



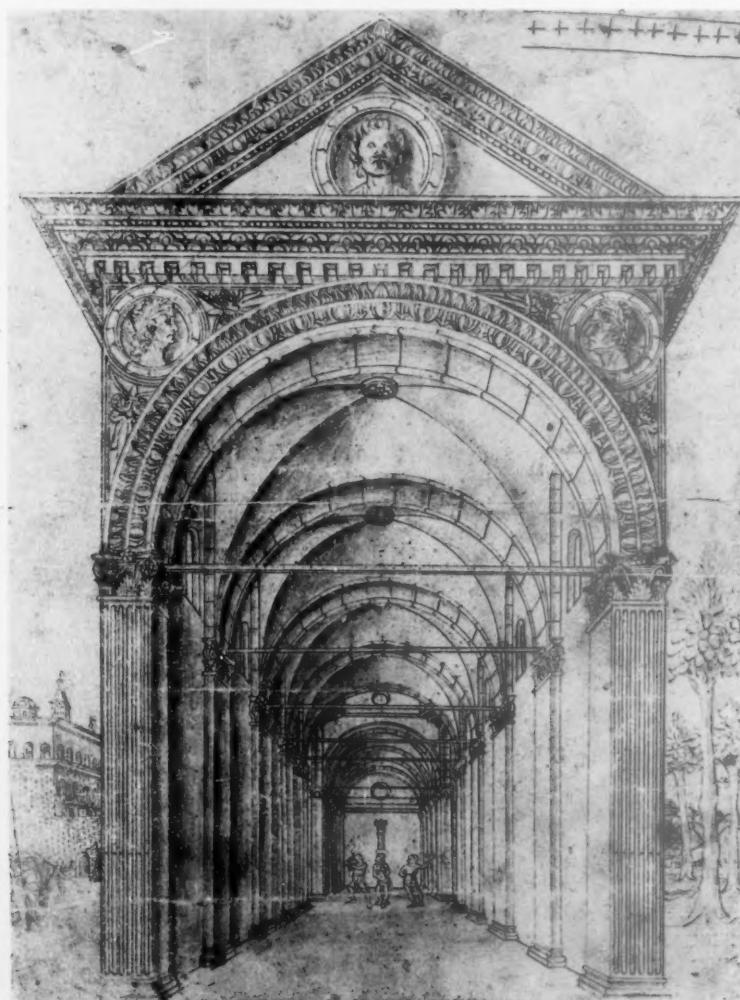
4. Piero della Fran-
cesca, Angels from
Baptism of Christ.
London



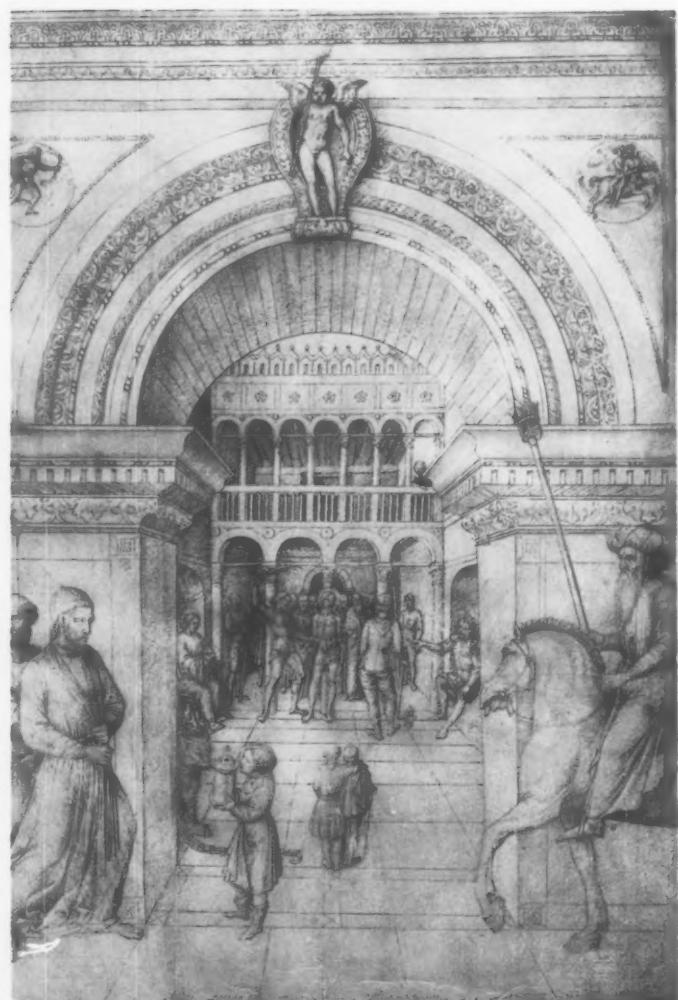
5. Attributed to Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna with Sarcophagus Parapet*. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum



6. Piero della Francesca (and assistant), *Altarpiece*. Milan



7. Attributed to Foppa, *Flagellation of Christ*, drawing. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University



8. Jacopo Bellini, *Flagellation of Christ*, drawing. Paris

is that it is a painting. Drawings might well function as the medium of private experimentation when paintings would not. Like the marginal figures of Gothic manuscripts, Renaissance drawings at times predict, in their obscure role of personal fancy, what will only become standard public property in a succeeding generation.²⁵ But there is at least a good possibility that Piero's picture is unusual, and one of an exceptionally personal type. Its shape and size preclude its being an altarpiece, or part of one. It is not a cassone, a predella panel, a portable altarpiece, or any of the normal things. This becomes striking when it develops that every other picture by Piero can be functionally classified. But this one is simply—a painting. Its apparent uniqueness disappears when the lost but thoroughly described private paintings of Brunelleschi are remembered, paintings which were likewise perspective exercises.²⁶

Here, then, the author of the first book on perspective, who enjoys in it special cases and puzzles, experiments with a paradox: reverse perspective. Satisfying his own technical and visual bent, he also illustrates the attitude to painting as a mirror. The Flagellation is shown as a slice of life in the most literal sense, as one might come on it in the street while passing other people. It is not made noble or special. The peculiar requirements of Piero's views have brought him to a prophecy of Tintoretto and of Degas.

Yet he is not so far from the Middle Ages but what a subject must at least be present. Here, and in all the parallels cited, the Flagellation is chosen for a good reason. The Passion is the central subject of Christian art; of its events, only the Flagellation and the related incidents in Pilate's house took place in a rich architectural setting.

Unlike the *Flagellation*, the Brera altarpiece by an assistant of Piero turns out to be the ideal iconological picture (Fig. 6). Two of its features are unique: first, as Millard Meiss pointed out, it is the first Italian altarpiece set in a church;²⁷ second, an egg hangs from the ceiling. If both these inventions could be related to one explanation, its reliability would be assured. Such a source appears in Pausanias, who had recently been brought to attention by the Greek travels of Ciriacus of Ancona, and of whom a number of fifteenth century manuscripts survive.²⁸ The donor of this painting, Duke Frederick of Urbino, possessed perhaps the largest humanist library of his time, and Pausanias was surely included.

None of his reports is odder than the one of the temple where the priestesses worship Leda's original egg hung by ribbons from the ceiling.²⁹ Rarely have other eggs in intellectual history hung from ceilings,³⁰ and since this one hangs in a temple, the parallel is complete. In some way, then,

aqueducts, labyrinths, explosives, etc.) Giovanni da Fontana (1395?-1455?), dedicated to Jacopo, now lost, but quoted by its author in another work. This item in Jacopo's biography, apparently not well known to historians of art, is cited by L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, IV, 1934, p. 157. Other highly developed perspective scenes in Jacopo's notebooks with obscured protagonists are the *Presentation of the Virgin* (I, pl. LXVII; II, pl. V), the *Martyrdom of the Baptist* (I, pl. XCII), and the *Procession to Calvary* (II, pl. XV).

25. Yet it is proper to cite a lost painting which may well have used the same devices. Vasari's description of a Flagellation fresco by Castagno at Santa Croce is especially excited—had it not been damaged, “sarebbe certo bellissima tra tutte le cose d'Andrea.” It showed as its major feature “una loggia con colonne in prospettiva con crociere di volte a liste diminuite, e le pareti commesse a mandorle.” (Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, II, pp. 672-673.)

26. These paintings are described in the early life of Brunelleschi by “Manetti,” and like most such private paintings are now lost. The relevant passage is trans. by C. Gilbert and E. Holt in *Literary Sources of Art History*, ed. Holt, Princeton, 1947, pp. 98-99.

27. M. Meiss, “A Documented Altarpiece by Piero della

Francesca,” *ART BULLETIN*, XXIII, 1941, p. 62. Whether or not painted by Piero's hand, the altarpiece was certainly planned by him, as Meiss's analysis of its subtleties indicates.

28. Pausanias, Loeb ed., London, 1918, I, xxvii (list of mss.).

29. *ibid.*, III (Laconia), xvi, i. Laconia was one of Ciriacus' main areas of travel.

30. The rare motive of the egg must not be confused with a very common one which is superficially similar. In many architectural altarpieces a lamp hangs from the ceiling and, at the point where the cord or chain is subdivided into strands running to the sides of the lamp, there is an ovoid weight. This form of lamp is found already in Mantegna's San Zeno altarpiece and later is very frequent: in one by Montagna (Vicenza, Museo Civico) the cord is looped at the ceiling and brought down again at the side to the floor, so that the lamp may be raised or lowered. The motive appears in completely secular grotesque ornament of the mid-sixteenth century (Casa Romei, Ferrara) and for that matter such lamps are in use today; thus it seems far less likely as a symbol than as a point of the reality of the architecture. The only apparent connection with the egg is to lessen the novelty and surprise of such hanging from the vault. On the other hand, one other instance at least of the hanging egg appears to exist. This is

the humanist planner of this picture of the *Virgin Mary with Saints* wished to allude to Leda. Why he should so wish can only be inferred, but the inference is plain. Among the mortal spouses of father Zeus only Leda received him in the form of a bird, so that her story is a classical antetype for the Immaculate Conception of Christ.³¹ One would like to find a Renaissance text proposing the parallel; its existence would not be surprising.³²

Today the parallel may seem sacrilegious, when religion is more solemn and restricted because it is less accepted. But Piero della Francesca had already painted a symbolic Cupid beside a high altar in his *Legend of the Cross*,³³ while Frederick of Montefeltro appears in another image devoutly kneeling before the art of dialectic, who thus replaces Mary without irreverence.³⁴ It was irreverent, to be sure, when in those years Frederick's neighbor the Lord of Pesaro dedicated a church to his mistress as the Divine Isolde, but just the contrary when the future author of the Platonic Theology was being prepared by systematic training.

If one pursues at all the classical symbolism of the egg, one runs at once into the world-egg, a symbol of the creation of the round world. Traceable to antiquity, the idea appears in surprising contexts in the late Middle Ages and in the Renaissance; no humanist in Urbino could fail to remember it in this connection.³⁵ That such a reference is intended is strongly suggested by the fact that this egg hangs from a shell in the apse. An apsidal shell is not too common in a Renaissance church, though it does appear. But it is far more common in ancient Roman niches, where it is allusive to the dome of heaven. Lehmann has shown how this arose through transference from the image of the stretched tent.³⁶ Thus the painting suspends a classical "Heaven" over a classical "Earth." That this is a true allusion appears from its relation to the other allusion of the miraculous Heavenly fatherhood and earthly motherhood.

A third special element in the picture is the sleeping Christ Child. Here he is in fact an antetype of the dead Christ of the Pietà. This novel church has no altar; where it should be, the Virgin sits holding her son. As the altar is simply the sacramental table on which the Body and Blood of Christ are consumed, here the actual body takes their place in the formula of the mystery. Thus there are three out-of-the-way references all having reference to one central Christian concept, the paradox of the God-man, the Word made Flesh. Christ is miraculously born like Leda's chil-

in the two side panels (alone preserved) of a small triptych attributed to Galeazzo della Barba (Pinacoteca, Cremona). Saints and a donor appear in arched niches; presumably a Virgin appeared with a similar arch and egg in the central panel, which would give us a form quite close to the Brera altarpiece. The egg would then have been triplicated with foolish literalism when the arch was. If this inference is correct, it tends against possible interpretations of the egg as having a private suitability for the Brera altarpiece only (e.g., for the Montefeltro family) and toward a more generic meaning. (Cf. A. Puerari, *La Pinacoteca di Cremona*, 1951, p. 81, figs. 100-101.)

31. W. S. Heckscher has pointed out the use of ancient gems with Leda and the Swan as seal rings in the Middle Ages and other evidence of Christian awareness of the ancient story. He suggests hesitantly its use as an analogue with the conception of Christ, but finds no parallels of the type indicated here. ("Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Medieval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1, 1937-38, p. 218.) Sir K. Clark (*op.cit.*, p. 210) refers to ostrich eggs "which used to be" hung in the apses of churches in Abyssinia and elsewhere in the Christian Near East. This reference is certainly of interest, yet among the ways in which it resembles anthropological allusions is its lack of a date, which, like them, would seem to be recent and based on the reports of travelers. If this practice actually goes back earlier than Piero, it is nevertheless most unlikely that the rites of these exotic Nestorian (?) heretics should have seemed meaningful or even penetrated in Renaissance Italy. In view of the traditionalism of such

groups, a possible common source, conceivably Orphic, is indicated for further enquiry. I understand that Professor Meiss has had under consideration for some time mediaeval evidence about the egg; evidently any and all connections separately demonstrable are welcome in combination. Pictures with genuinely "iconological" symbolism seem to be able readily to absorb compound allusions, series of levels of meaning, and even Empsonian ambiguities.

32. The egg has its fascination for various contemporary artists because of its implications of ingenuity, and the possibility of surrealist mockery of the supposedly sexual aspects of Christianity. Salvador Dali has adopted it with its shell from Piero della Francesca in his *Madonna of Port Lligat*. "The shell symbolized baptism, the egg, Resurrection." (Reported in *Time*, April 17, 1950, p. 66.)

33. cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*, pp. 114-115, plate LI.

34. Reproduced by A. Venturi, *Storia*, IV-II, 1913, fig. 137.

35. cf. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 625ff., "The World-Egg." A passage in Aristophanes indicates that it is one of the quite early Orphic doctrines. One of the odd smaller phases of its late appearances is in mediaeval enquiries into the etymology of the name "Ovid" as "he who distinguished the parts of the egg, symbol of the world." (F. Ghisalberti, "Medieval Biographies of Ovid," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IX, 1946, p. 27, and appendices there cited.) These texts are principally of the fourteenth century.

36. K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 10ff., especially p. 13.

dren from a divine father and a human mother; he unites Heaven and earth; in his death he is immortal.

An iconological survey might cease here. Instead, a factor of personal style needs to be emphasized not only in itself but in its intimate participation with the symbols, an area which appears the weakest part of iconological practice. The church building is needed to complete all three of these allusions, to Leda's temple, to the Heaven-roof, to the church altar. When Meiss pointed out the novelty of the church, he treated it as a natural step in the process of the unification of space gradually traceable through quattrocento altarpieces; clearly he is right. He noted that the process made a sudden jump here which he found surprising. It can now be explained. Receiving the planner's symbolic requirements, Piero was stimulated to an inventive step in his own favorite area of perspective elaboration. Thus personal talent and theological humanism meet to enrich each other; neither alone produced the extraordinary effectiveness of this painting.

III

Giorgione's subjects have been difficult ever since Vasari recorded with annoyance that he could not understand the frescoes of the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. *The Tempest* especially has a prestige of mystery (Fig. 11), and the varying attempts to connect it with a story in one or another Roman romance have none of them found wide favor. Still the idea that there might be no subject at all has been avoided, evidently because of a premise that there is no "pure painting" in this period.³⁷ This is in spite of the statement of Marcantonio Michiel, who listed the picture "The Tempest, with the Soldier and the Gypsy."³⁸ If the well-informed Michiel, writing in Venice in the early sixteenth century, a connoisseur, who had personal contact with the picture's owner, a careful man who was in the habit of leaving blanks when he was not sure—if he could think in these terms, so could Giorgione be equally loose in 1505.

The recent X-ray of the picture offers more evidence.³⁹ The soldier has replaced a bathing nude in a preliminary draft (Fig. 12), or perhaps the nursing mother has replaced her and been moved to the other side. This fact leads to inferences which seem not to have been pursued. If there is a definite story, it must have been changed completely from one story to another in mid-career. Yet both stories would have to fit the same environment, the sensitive, complex, famous group of ruins, bridge, city, and storm. This is too much to ask even from a less subtle painter than Giorgione. It is as if the subject matter of a novel were to change in replacing one chapter. Pentimenti as we know them involve raising an arm or reordering a landscape, matters which either are irrelevant to subject or reinforce what is there; the same is true in rewriting an art historical essay. The delicate nerves of the theme may not be touched, but the extra items that give nourishment may be freely pruned or stimulated. To provide a formula: importance for subject is in inverse proportion to possible amount of pentimenti.

The formula applied here would mean that the landscape is more meaningful, even for the theme, than the figures. It seems an absurd conclusion. Yet it has an oddly exact correspondence to Michiel's way of giving the title: "The Tempest, with the Soldier and the Gypsy." This line must be pursued further for a more reasonable solution.

If *The Tempest* is connected with contemporary literature, it is surely with the pastoral. This connection is more literal in a quantity of works by Giorgione and his imitators, such as the *Fête Champêtre* of the Louvre, the numerous piping shepherds, and the like. Here the male figure

37. Proposals of specific stories have competed with always somewhat qualified (see note 43 below) suggestions that there is a pure landscape here. Cf. G. M. Richter, *Giorgio da Castelfranco*, Chicago, 1937, p. 241; G. Fiocco, *Giorgione*, Bergamo, 1941, p. 33.

38. Michiel's text on Giorgione is most thoroughly treated by L. Venturi, *Giorgione e il Giorgionismo*, Milan, 1913, pp. 4-7, 290ff.

39. Published by A. Morassi in *Le Arti*, 1, 1939, pp. 567ff.

belatedly introduced might indifferently be soldier or shepherd, but most of the connections are less literal. The environment with ruins, the countryside pruned like a lawn, the sense of pleasant drowse, belong to the tone of the pastoral literature which was, indeed, so much admired and quoted in this moment.

The major pastoral document of Giorgione's period is of course Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, first published in Venice in 1502 though written rather earlier in Naples, and reprinted and imitated constantly.⁴⁰ Examined for its attitudes as to subject and to landscape, it is definite and unusual. It has no plot, and no continuing characters except the virtually submerged narrator.

As to landscape, the first paragraph has as its argument that everyone will agree on the greater pleasantness of the country over the city—an emphatic thematic statement which one would more readily attribute to a nineteenth century romantic or perhaps to Horace. It is indeed thematic, for as the various sophisticated shepherds tell their life histories (a major part of the book) they appear as refugees from the evils or woes of cities.

However, as with the previous documents, the major attention should be directed to the remarks about painting. The major one is a three-page description which deserves quoting almost intact.

All of us went together in company to the Holy Temple, where, upon climbing up not very many steps, we saw painted over the door various groves and most beautiful hills, with thick, hoary trees and a thousand sorts of flowers, among which were to be seen many flocks which wandered about, grazing and scattering through the green meadows, with perhaps ten dogs about, to guard them, leaving footprints that could be made out very naturally in the dust. Of the shepherds, some were eating, some shearing wool, others playing pipes, and there were some who in singing seemed to be trying to harmonize with the sound of the instruments. But what I enjoyed observing more closely were some naked nymphs standing half hidden behind a chestnut trunk, laughing at a sheep so busy gnawing on an oaken garland hanging before its eyes that it forgot to crop the grass that grew around it. At this point came four satyrs with horns on their heads and goats' feet, softly, softly, through a clump of bushes to seize them by the shoulder, which they noticing fled through the dense wood, never avoiding thorns or any hurtful thing, and one who was quicker than the others mounted a goat and defended herself from there with a long branch. The others in their fear jumped in a river and fled away swimming, and the clear waves hid little or nothing of their white flesh. But when they saw they had escaped the danger they sat down on the other shore, tired and breathing hard, drying their wet hair, and seemed to be mocking from there those who had not been able to reach them. And at one side was Apollo, very blond, leaning on a wild olive staff and guarding the flocks of Admetus on the banks of a stream, and through watching closely two strong bulls fighting with their horns, he failed to notice the wily Mercury, who, dressed in shepherd's clothes with a goat skin slung under his left forearm, was stealing his cows. And in that same area stood Battus, witness of the theft, transformed to stone, holding his finger pointed in a gesture of demonstration. And a little below Mercury was to be seen again, sitting on a big stone playing a pipe, with swollen cheeks and eyes to one side, watching a white cow standing near him and trying with all slyness to outwit the keen Argus. On the other side at the foot of a huge tree a shepherd lay asleep and a dog was sniffing the bundle under his head, and because the moon was watching him with a joyful eye I assumed that this was Endymion. Near him was Paris, who had begun to write "Oenone" with his knife on the bark of an elm, and had not yet been able quite to finish because of having to judge the naked goddesses standing before him. But what was no less charming to see than subtle to invent was the awareness of the wise painter who, having made Juno and Minerva so extremely beautiful that it would have been impossible to surpass them, and doubting that he could have made Venus as beautiful as need be, painted her turning her back, excusing his defect with cleverness. And many other pleasant things very beautiful to look at, which I cannot properly recall, I saw painted in various places, but entering in the temple . . .⁴¹

This remarkable passage is in some respects similar to well-known patterns in the description of paintings. There is the (very slight) reference to the artist's naturalistic and virtuoso tricks, the

40. The *editio princeps* is often called that of Naples, 1504, but an incomplete edition had already appeared in Venice in 1502 and perhaps another even in 1501. Earlier the book had had large manuscript circulation, from which these unauthor-

ized editions were made. Later sixteenth century editions are innumerable. (Cf. British Museum Catalogue, s.v.; and V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, Milan, 1933, p. 507.)

41. Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Portielli, 1806, pp. 28-30.

footprints, the harmonizing mouths, the Venus with her back to us.⁴² A little more marked are the similarities to the continuous classical and mediaeval tradition of descriptions in long narratives. They include the tendency to suggest the passage of time in the picture, a figure changing from one action to another, though not as markedly as in some examples. There is also another similarity: in these descriptions it is usually clear that the author is not concerned with the presence of pictures, but wishes to expound the meaning of his story in a different way by referring to their narrative content.

Sannazaro's description is also an extension of the life he sees outside, but it is a different life. Clearly there is no precise allegory here. The most striking key to this is the order of the presentation. First comes the pure empty landscape (hills and trees); then the animals (sheep and sheep dogs), followed by the shepherds who are presented only in generalized activities. After the shepherds, we see the nymphs and satyrs who have a more specified narrative action, but are an anonymous group. Following them come named mythological people in stories, but the stories are merely amusing (the thieving Mercury). At the very end are two definite, serious mythological stories which are very familiar. As if to underline their conventionality, the author gives us the chestnut about Venus' back and then suddenly loses his enthusiasm.

The description, in short, is exactly the reverse of the normal one, in which we find the major serious story told first and the plain landscape put last. Such a description is reasonable because it corresponds to the relative prominence of things in pictures. To what does Sannazaro's description correspond, if to anything? At least in its looseness of reference, as well as in its specifically pastoral tone of intense love for a sort of wild garden, it is connected with *The Tempest*.

Throughout Sannazaro's book elements of nature have a rather peculiar life of feeling. Again suggesting Horace or Lamartine, trees are polite or impolite, rivers remember and forget, rocks listen. But we must understand that these objects are not being personified; we have a tree, not a dryad or a spirit. The older kind of symbolization has given way to an attitude that is possibly more "scientific." Yet clearly we have not moved all the way to our own kind of empiricism. As we saw in the case of the sleeping Child and its "imminent" symbolism, neither as much as allegory nor as little as genre, there is a defined intermediate attitude here to be grasped. This view of nature may aptly be labeled "pan-humanism." It is, to be sure, not limited to the Renaissance, but its prominence here seems helpful in understanding the picture. It is not simply a tempest, a passing visual and meteorological phenomenon as in an impressionist painting, but the Tempest, a personage, an actor, in fact the protagonist.

One can agree with the scholars who instinctively rejected, as unhistorical, the notion of pure landscape as we have it today for this picture. But it was perhaps not right to assume that only one other alternative to that solution existed, the literal story-telling subject. The suggestion arises of the interests and attitudes of the Renaissance being compressed and lost between the more precisely defined ones of the Middle Ages and the better-known ones of our own day.⁴³

42. The last-named theme smacks of literary convention. Well known is the ancient description of a painting of the *Death of Iphigenia* in which the greater and greater grief of successive figures culminates in a veil for the father, a mark of the painter's ingenuity. (Cicero, *Orator*, 22, 74; Pliny, *ed. cit.*, pp. 116-117.)

43. It is instructive that the sensitivity of scholars has led them to observe that the landscape is the serious theme of the picture although tradition has led them to reject the possibility of its being also the putative, formal subject carrying the title. Morassi (*loc. cit.*) notes that the X-ray disqualifies most theories of the subject, so that "we are led to the edge of pure landscape." Although this is outside Renaissance attitudes, Giorgione is a special case. Still "I fear lest the modern concept of art for art's sake be transplanted into the Renaissance." Fiocco (*loc. cit.*), although less thoroughgoing, observes that Guardi

is here anticipated, that whatever "the subject, relating to culture or at most to taste, it explains neither the art nor the style." With an especially acute awareness of all aspects of the problem, as always, though not realizing his conclusions, Gombrich has recently written: "We are not quite sure what *The Tempest* represents. . . . One day the episode illustrated may be identified. . . . For the first time, it seems, the landscape . . . is not just a background. It is there, by its own right, as the real subject of the painting." (*The Story of Art*, London, 1950, pp. 239-240.) While Gombrich actually reaches the solution only to reject it, Morassi's hesitation documents with particular clarity the obvious inadequacy of both the "romantic" and literary approaches. It is this Gordian knot which it is hoped here to cut, substituting for approaches either too mediaeval and inflexible or too modern a more special observation of Renaissance tone.

The storm is, then, the central figure, as Michiel had told us. It is free of the *pentimenti* that so astonishingly appear to the side. As a graphic clarification of the status (though it can by no means be pressed), one might imagine the composition of an altarpiece in which the major figure is central, larger, and higher, the minor ones (such as saints) at the sides, lower, and smaller. In the tradition of such a pattern *The Tempest* suddenly seems surprisingly regular.

At this point it seems incumbent to make at least some essay of that classic problem, the essential of Giorgione's style. It resists definition despite its enormous influence and its patent originality. In doing this, it seems best to return to *The Tempest* through the central early work, the Castelfranco altarpiece. The usual comments on this take note of several factors, chiefly the atmospheric delicacy, the general "lyric" suggestiveness, and a more eccentric one, the peculiarly high throne. I would like to add two more generally not adduced but equally prominent in the picture. One is the remarkable degree to which black, white, and neutral gray are used: in the floor, much of the throne, and the whole garments of both saints. The other is the insistence on rather elementary devices of linear perspective in the patterned squares of the floor (which would surely have been automatically cited had this been a Florentine picture) and its step, then in the receding boxes of the throne, in the flagpole, and finally in the two oddly parallel winding roads. What common factor is there in all these points, which certainly act on different levels? The following is suggested: the perspective devices have their usual function to create space. The space, however, is not simply measurement, but has the modern and more positive connotation of air; hence the atmospheric subtlety, which is helped along by the large use of black, white, and gray. But the greatest emphasis on air is produced by keeping the figures far apart from each other (the high throne and the perspective) which gives each its own autonomy in a delicately connecting world of air and produces as the main source the final function, the lyric suggestiveness or "mood," which is nothing more than the effect of gentle quietude. But the most extraordinary device for this purpose is one not yet mentioned, though related to all these: that the air alone occupies the middle of the picture, pushing the figures aside or back or up. This remarkable anti-quattrocento invention means that no one figure dominates; instead, the whole environment is the protagonist or central factor, an environment that forms the unity of the figures which are yet very separate. Through this paradox, atmospheric tone becomes figurative "tone," and the haunting effect of the picture is achieved. It clearly was important to Giorgione that this central protagonist is not simply space, but more positively air, for in the later work which we have studied he revises the same procedure with more subtle nuances, and here the air becomes still more dominant, appearing in the most "positive" form which air can attain, i.e., as the storm. In this way Giorgione is an early exemplar of a recurrent phenomenon in Western painting which may be called the aesthetic of emptiness. It seems to appear when a major function of the painting is to suggest a sentiment that cannot be visualized. Since the Western tradition requires realism, an impasse is created which is solved by leaving a void into which the onlooker is to project the imaginative allusions. Other examples are in the Crucifixions of such divergent counterreform artists as the late Veronese, Greco, and Guido Reni, where the blank dark sky is the conveyor of piety, or the desert horizons of Tangy and other surrealists.

The Vienna Giorgione is also a problem as to its subject matter (Fig. 10). It does indeed have a subject, which I believe has been rightly named. But since this seems to have been done without adequate proof, it has been rejected by as many scholars as have accepted it. There are two key pieces of evidence. One is the reference of Michiel, whose phrase "I tre phylosophi nel paese" seems to have been rendered most adequately as "the three astrologers."⁴⁴ The other evidence comes from X-ray, which shows that the middle figure was originally a Negro, but was changed to white by Giorgione.⁴⁵ When one of three figures in a Renaissance picture is a Negro, it automatically

44. Venturi, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

45. Published by J. Wilde in Vienna *Jahrbuch*, N. F. vi, 1932, p. 141.

appears to be of the Three Magi, and the likelihood is confirmed here by the relative ages and Eastern costume of all the figures. The late G. M. Richter thought that Giorgione repainted the figure so that his subject would not be mistaken for the Three Magi,⁴⁶ but this idea is inadmissible. The artist would necessarily have thought of them from the first brush stroke, and if he had desired to avoid an ambiguity would have done so before arriving at the stage of pentimenti. The inevitable conclusion is that the picture was intended to represent them. If it did so in its first version, then it does so still; a subject is not changed by altering one face while all the rest of the picture is unchanged, any more than the subject of a play is changed when Negro actors perform it. The pentimento cannot be explained beyond doubt, but perhaps since the Negro magus is more common in north Europe than in Italy, he was actually altered to clarify the subject.

Here are two well-attested subjects: the figures are surely astrologers and surely magi. An explanation of both these items together should be convincing and, indeed, once the matter is approached from this direction, it serves as a reminder that the Magi were astrologers. They were wise old men, coming from the Near East, who foretold the future of a baby by noting the course of a star at the moment of his birth. The subject is then: the Magi as astrologers.

Among the numerous modern attributions of subject—including that of Evander, Paris and Aeneas, the three ages of man, and other more or less "allusive" themes connected with contemporary philosophical, mythological, and literary ideas⁴⁷—the suggestion of the Magi as astrologers has appeared several times. Hourticq argued for it in 1930, alluding to a mediaeval tradition originating in John Chrysostom that the Magi made astrological observations. He admitted, however, the absence of crowns, gifts, and star, making his proposal less convincing.⁴⁸ When Wilde reported the X-ray in 1932, he followed and bolstered the idea, pointing out also that it had been suggested in 1783 by Christian Mechel, director of the Vienna collections at that time. But he allowed as secondary interpretations the three ages of man and the three parts of the world. Finally, in 1935, Robert Eisler added new evidence, that in a Rumanian version of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus the Magi are called astrologers; obviously such an esoteric allusion was not well calculated to settle the question. The view was adopted in 1941 without further comment by Fiocco,⁴⁹ but has in the meantime been elaborately denied in publications by Ferriguto, G. M. Richter, and Wischnitzer-Bernstein, so that plainly there is room for discussion.⁵⁰

It is remarkable that the arguments of Hourticq, Wilde, and Eisler do not bring in the effective factor of Michiel's contemporary record which, as we have seen, when combined with the pentimento makes this solution simple and inevitable. It is true that his term has not been understood to mean "astrologers" by writers who have failed to treat his text with the unique care and finesse bestowed on it by Lionello Venturi. Cavalcaselle made them astronomers and Fiocco philosophers. Yet, at least for those disposed to think of the picture as astrological, one would have expected the reference in Venturi's standard book to be stimulating.

A second reason for this failure to convince, this time a positive one, is certainly in the bizarre citations of texts made by Hourticq and Eisler. If the picture represents a unique theme, let it be a fanciful and newly imagined one, more easily than a sudden recrudescence of John Chrysostom! A lack of correspondence in date between picture and supporting text is indeed a serious even though commonplace fault, as was indicated above and as is known to students of iconology. Yet there exists in the moment of Giorgione's activity a great, even urgent, relevance for the Magi as astrologers. And, like the other ideas cited in this paper, it belongs to the area of the most famous and active people and currents of its epoch.

46. *op.cit.*, p. 256.

47. Many of these are cited by Fiocco, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

48. Hourticq, *Le problème de Giorgione*, 1930; cf. the discussions by A. Ferriguto, *Attraverso i misteri di Giorgione*, Castelfranco, 1933, pp. 309-311, and Fiocco, *loc.cit.*

49. R. Eisler, *New Titles for Old Pictures*, 1935, *apud* Fiocco, *loc.cit.*

50. Ferriguto, *loc.cit.*; Richter, *loc.cit.*; R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., xxvii, 1945, pp. 193ff., with still further references to opinions.

Everyone knows of Pico della Mirandola's sensational attack on the practice of astrology. It appeared in his largest work and received some of its fame through epitomizing by Savonarola. The leading pro-astrological attack on it was published in Venice in 1502.⁵¹ In his work, Pico devotes the whole of one chapter—a short one, to be sure—to denying the idea that the Magi were astrologers. His attack is based on rather odd work with etymologies and is not very convincing. But he mentions that the idea must be refuted because it is held by many, and it is clear that it was held in order to impute Christian sanction to the practice.⁵²

In the painting, the figures are notably inactive (which is perhaps merely Giorgionesque of them!) but conspicuously astrological. They are insisting on this status. It would be too literal to assert that it was produced as a propaganda piece in the pro-astrological camp, but its general associations with this question are beyond doubt.

There is no proper conclusion to such a medley of examples, each of which in fact exemplifies something a little different. Yet it may be hoped that something appears. The "not subject" aspect of Renaissance painting of course does not mean that pictures have, as it were, no titles; it means that along with a complex allusive logic of learned reference, assumed so widely in recent studies, other developments must be emphasized: there are pictures with no subject at all (Dosso); there are those with ordinary surface subjects in which it is really correct, and not merely obscurantist, to reject symbolic depths (sleeping Child theme, *Tempest*); and there are also those which have capricious subjects determined by an artist's personal stress (*Flagellation*, Ficino theme). All these have been alleged by the "romantic" historians perhaps for the wrong reason that they disliked the "inartistic" exactitude of iconology, and perhaps muddling them together and applying them without justification. Yet if these intuitions are examined, it would seem equally wrong, and perhaps equally the result of cultural pressures, to apply too far the idea of complex precision. To be sure, the non-subject pictures are in their own upside-down way precise documents of current philosophies thoroughly carried out, and therefore of an iconology of richer scope.⁵³

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51. Savonarola's version was published in 1497 and the reply cited is by Lucio Bellanti (Venice, 1502). This literature is best handled by D. C. Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance*, Durham, N.C., 1941, p. 35.

52. G. Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, ed. Garin, Florence, 1946, I, Lib. IV, Caput xv: "Per stellam Magorum non posse constellationem aliquam intellegi."

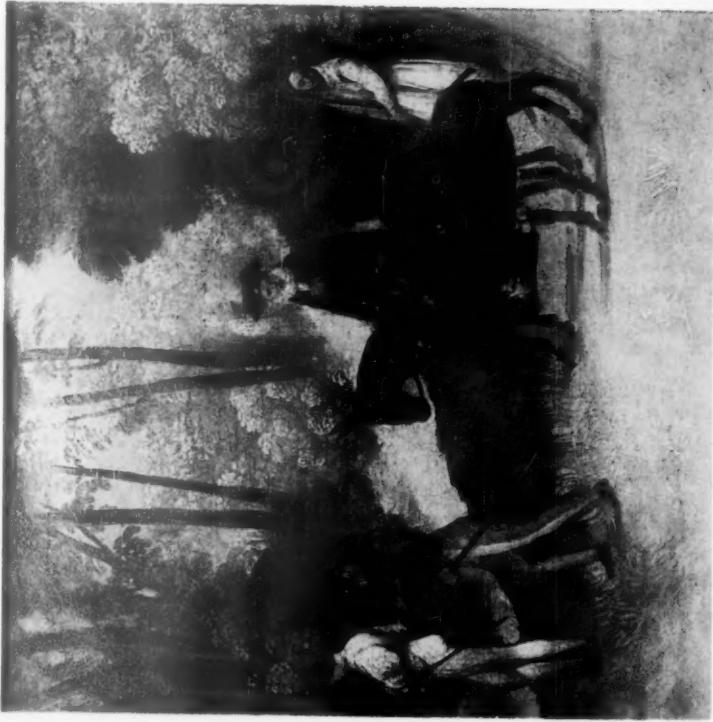
53. *Addendum*—Two notable studies of Piero della Francesca's subjects have just been made. In January 1952 Professor Meiss read to the College Art Association his views on the Brera altarpiece adumbrated in note 31. It was expected that they would be in print about the same time as this article, and an exchange of manuscripts was arranged so that mutual comment within the texts, rather than in later critiques, might convenience the reader in drawing his conclusions. Some comments were prepared for this space but withdrawn when the publication of the volume containing Professor Meiss's study was delayed. They may appear here after it does. I may say that some of his further evidence seemed to confirm what is noted here, while with other conclusions I could not concur.

In the June 1952 *Burlington Magazine* Professor Gombrich

reviewed Sir Kenneth Clark's monograph on Piero. In the course of his review, he suggests that the three foreground figures of the *Flagellation* depict the scene of Judas returning the thirty pieces of silver, which is attached to the *Flagellation* in a Florentine religious drama and a sixteenth century German print. He recognizes fully the flaw in this proposal, that the figures show no objects to indicate who they are (as they conspicuously do in the "parallel" print). That such objects would be required to mark particular persons has been noticed above. He suggests that the objects might have been lost in injury to the picture, but even this is virtually excluded by the downward gestures. The only support then is the existence of *Flagellation*-Judas "parallels"; I have cited "parallels" of the *Flagellation* with large neutral figures. If the parallels are to be decisive, then the latter must be preferred, since they are from works of fifteenth century Italian painters, while the former are from sixteenth century Germany or from drama. As noted above, parallels are useful in proportion to their nearness. The Judas hypothesis remains supported only by the *a priori* view that there must be some subject, which I am sure Professor Gombrich would be the first to exclude.



9. Dosso Dossi, *Traguers in a Wood.*
Besançon



10. Giorgione, *The Magi as Astrologers.*
Vienna



12. Giorgione, *The Tempest.* Reconstruction of original version, after Morassi



11. Giorgione, *The Tempest.* Venice



1. Alonso Cano, *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos.*
Madrid, Prado



2. Alonso Cano, *Vision of St. Felix of Cantalice.*
Madrid, Prado



3. Alonso Cano, *Annunciation.* Madrid, Prado



4. Alonso Cano, *Annunciation.* Getafe, parish church

ALONSO CANO'S DRAWINGS

HAROLD E. WETHEY

ALONSO CANO is the most celebrated draughtsman among all Spanish painters. Only Antonio del Castillo, a minor master, who possessed far greater skill with pen or pencil than with the brush, approached Cano's dexterity when working upon paper. As a result of his renown as a draughtsman, Cano's name has been attached to hundreds of drawings which have not even a distant personal connection with him. The major difficulty springs from a habit of collectors in centuries past, that of writing the name of an artist upon the face of a drawing.¹ Occasionally Cano's name appears twice upon the same sheet, each time by a different hand.² Yet such identifications have come to be regarded as signatures of the master.

Many abbreviations of Cano's name with initials have also been interpreted, quite incorrectly, as signed monograms. The custom of abbreviating names was widespread in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thus leading to much confusion today. Not a single monogram on the drawings can be regarded as Cano's personal signature. Any careful examination of the so-called monograms shows that they are heterogeneous as to the letters used as well as to writing, and that they were added in ink or in pencil of entirely different character and color from the drawings themselves.³ The nearest approach to signatures occurs upon the sheets for an architectural study (Fig. 30) and a fountain (Fig. 27) in the form of scribbled notes in Cano's handwriting, which is known in surviving notarial documents. Added to the other problems connected with Cano's drawings are the numerous copies. Some are the work of pupils and followers, but many are as late as the nineteenth century, produced at a time when the artist's name brought good prices, and a few are later still.

In the present article I have included a list of fifty-three authentic drawings, thirteen of which have not been published before (see pages 229ff.). Two important copies, as well as numerous replicas and school pieces, are also cited for the first time. On comparison with the sixty-five works accepted by Sánchez Cantón in his catalogue issued twenty-two years ago, some critics may regard my list of authentic drawings as drastically reduced.⁴ The differences lie chiefly, however, in the relegation to pupils and followers of twenty-five drawings formerly accepted as the master's own and in the many works recently discovered. In matters of chronology and artistic development Sánchez Cantón advanced his opinions as tentative, and it is in these respects that our ideas diverge most. The authentic works I have catalogued iconographically, whereas the unaccepted attributions have, for reasons of space, been listed by collections with the name of the artist in parentheses wherever possible.⁵ The text of this article is devoted to a chronological and stylistic study with emphasis upon the new material.

1. A group of drawings which has Cano's name inscribed by a single collector includes the *Apparition of the Madonna to San Ildefonso* in the British Museum, the *Recumbent Venus* in the Uffizi, and the *Coronation of a Poet* in the Prado, only the last of which can be accepted as his work. In all three cases the "l" is made with a peculiar loop and the "a" of "Alonso" is not capitalized. A similar hand is identified in another group in which the penmanship differs in the use of a capital "A" and a more normal "l." The group includes the *Reclining Nude* in the Feduchi Collection, the *Sleeping Woman* of the Jovellanos Institute, and the architectural studies in Hamburg, the Academia de San Fernando, and the Martínez Chumillas Collection. In this instance, all except the second are Cano's work.

2. *Angel with Staff* in the Prado (Catalogue No. XLVI); *Architectural Study*, Hamburg (No. XXXVI).

3. In the past the letters "A. C." in sweeping curves which have been proven to be the signature of Antonio del Castillo were mistakenly interpreted as that of Alonso Cano.

4. A large number of Spanish drawings have the price of sale or an evaluation in *reales* written haphazardly upon them with complete disregard for the artistic significance of the object. The *Reclining Nude* of the Feduchi Collection has "2R" written in the lower center, meaning, of course, "two *reales*." Prices of two different sales are not uncommon, as in the architectural study at Hamburg (No. XXXVI), which also has the artist's name inscribed in two places. Some European museums still write their catalogue number upon the face of a drawing and stamp their insignia upon it, following the habits of collectors for centuries past.

5. Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos españoles*, Madrid, 1930, IV.

5. Items in the current art market are intentionally omitted.

Born in 1601 at Granada, the son of an architect, Alonso Cano moved with his family to Seville in 1614. Our information about his early career begins in the year 1624, the date of his first signed painting.⁶ He soon established his reputation as painter and sculptor, with the result that the Conde Duque de Olivares, prime minister of Philip IV, called him to Madrid in 1638. There he lived for fourteen years, closely associated with his boyhood friend, Diego Velázquez, and on intimate terms with court circles. His success was cast into shadow, however, by the murder of his young wife, María Magdalena, in 1644. Undoubtedly that tragic event had much to do with his decision to become an ecclesiastic and to return in 1652 to his birthplace, Granada, as prebendary (*racionero*) of the cathedral. So far as the drawings are concerned, I have regarded the last fifteen years of his career (1652-1667) as a third unit, representative of his final maturity. He led at that time a vexed and harried existence, constantly at odds with the canons, and for a period ejected from his benefice; but this is not the place to recount his long and controversial biography.⁷

SEVILLIAN PERIOD 1624-1638

Extant drawings and paintings of Cano's Sevillian period are rare indeed, due to the destructive forces of the nineteenth century, particularly the French invasion and the excastration of the religious orders (1835). Documentary notices in the notarial archives and the writings of Palomino and Ceán Bermúdez leave no doubt that his activity was extensive at that time (1624-1638), yet only the *St. Agnes* of Berlin (unluckily destroyed in 1945) and *St. John the Evangelist's Vision of Jerusalem* in the Wallace Collection are well known to art historians.⁸ Among the drawings, just one architectural study (discussed below, Fig. 29) and one figure piece can be placed with any degree of security in the Sevillian period. The latter is the *Angel with Staff* in the Prado (Fig. 22; catalogue No. XLVI), a brilliant piece of draughtsmanship, executed with the same decorative flourish as that with which he carved the cherubs in the *Altar of St. John the Evangelist* in Santa Paula, Seville, or painted *St. John the Evangelist's Vision of Jerusalem*. It seems to belong to the same years as they do (1635-1638). Some of the outlines have been re-enforced by a later hand in different colored ink, particularly in the feet and legs. Both inscriptions of the artist's name are later and without relation to his own penmanship.

MADRID PERIOD 1638-1652

From Cano's Madrid period several important drawings are still extant. The largest number connected with a specific monument are the four studies for the two lateral altars in the parish church at Getafe, a village about fifteen miles from the capital. Cano's work there is documented in the fall of 1645.⁹ The drawings show considerable variety in technique, two being rapid sketches in pen and bistre, one a pencil study for a single figure, and the fourth a more complete rendering in bistre and wash of a whole composition. The latter contains all of Cano's essential ideas for the *Annunciation* (Fig. 3; No. VII) at Getafe with the value relations expressed in the bistre wash. This study was undoubtedly submitted to the donor, for it is the type of finished drawing used for that

6. *San Francisco de Borja* in the Provincial Museum, Seville.

7. The chief sources for Cano's biography are: Palomino, *El parnaso español pintoresco laureado con las vidas de los pintores*, Madrid, 1724, ed. by Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias*, Madrid, 1936, IV, pp. 244-255; Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, Madrid, 1800, I; Ceán Bermúdez and Llaguno y Amírola, *Noticias de los arquitectos*, Madrid, 1829, IV, pp. 35-41, 159-171; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, the Elder, *Cosas granadinas de arte y arqueología*, Granada, 1888, pp. 69-106 (the same documents were previously published by the same author: "Alonso Cano," *Boletín del Centro Artístico de Granada*, I, 1886-1887, Nos. 14-17); A. L. Mayer, "Der Racionero Alonso Cano und die Kunst von Granada," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXX, 1909,

Beiheft, pp. 89-102; *Documentos para la historia del arte en Andalucía*, Seville, 1928, II; María Elena Gómez-Moreno, "El pleito de Alonso Cano con el cabildo de Granada," *Archivo español de arte*, XIII, 1937, pp. 207-233.

8. The complete list of Cano's early pictures will be studied in my forthcoming monograph on the artist. They include: *San Francisco de Borja*, Seville Museum; *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic*, Hispanic Society, New York; *Christ at the Column*, La Campana; *Souls in Purgatory*, Seville Museum; *Via Dolorosa*, Worcester Art Museum; *Ecce Homo*, San Ginés, Madrid; *Madonna and Child*, Seville Cathedral.

9. *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excusiones*, XXVI, 1918, pp. 211-214.

purpose. The picture in its final state (Fig. 4) deviates only in subordinate details and in the larger size of the Madonna and Gabriel in relation to the space of the room. The painting was, I believe, carried out in part by Cano's assistants, particularly the figure of Gabriel.

The small pencil drawing for *St. Elizabeth and the Infant Baptist* at Getafe (Fig. 5; No. xxv) may also have been intended as a trial piece in view of the relatively specific nature of the contours and modeling. The finished picture, largely a product of the workshop, by no means measures up to the high quality of the study. Equally significant are Cano's two rapid sketches in pen and bistre for the figures of *St. Dominic*, and *San Gonzalo de Amarante* (Figs. 6-7; Nos. xviii, xxvii). They are essentially more brilliant technically in their brief notation of light and shade and in the general distribution of masses and volumes. Here Cano shows himself a fully Baroque master who, like Rembrandt, jotted down his ideas as in shorthand without a complete definition of the object. He thought, as Wölfflin puts it, in pictorial areas rather than in contour and in tactile surfaces. These two drawings are significant, too, for they establish a standard by which to judge the numerous works of similar kind, dubiously attributed to the master. Both sketches are in the Academia de San Fernando, and they are clearly preparatory for the Getafe panels (Fig. 8), although no one has previously observed that fact. The deviations in the pictures involve only the change in the position of a book or of a hand, even less drastic than in other cases of preliminary studies, such as his drawing for the canvas of *San Juan Capistrano and San Bernardino* in Granada (Figs. 20-21). On the basis of comparison with these two sketches, I believe that the *St. Clara* (No. xvii) in the Prado Museum may also have been connected with the preliminary ideas for the Getafe retablos. The size of the sheet and the compositional arrangement are the same, although in this case the artist used wash for the shadows, as he did in the *Annunciation*, instead of connected diagonal lines, as he did in the studies for the two Dominican monks. The *St. Clara* might have been intended for another altar, yet the presence of a Franciscan nun along with Dominicans is perfectly normal from the iconographic viewpoint.

Close in date to the Getafe altar (1645) are three drawings: *St. Joseph Kneeling at Christ's Cradle* in the Prado, the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Uffizi, and the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* belonging to the Morgan Library at New York (Nos. xxxii, xi, vi). The vigorous line of the first of these shows Cano sketching his ideas for a composition in the decisive way he prepared the studies for the Dominican saints at Getafe. On the other hand, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, though less interesting as a drawing, is a more complete rendering with liberal use of wash. It is the composition for the picture formerly in the Capilla del Buen Consejo of San Isidro at Madrid of which no photograph exists, although it was lost by fire as recently as the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1938. The *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* is likewise a rather complete study for a painting, but unfortunately no extant work resembling it is known. Despite its fairly good state of preservation, the bodies of the cherubs on the upper part of the sheet were redrawn by a later hand. The style of the Madonna's figure is similar in the study for the Getafe *Annunciation* and in the painting of the *Madonna and Child in a Landscape* in the Prado.¹⁰ The landscapes in Cano's book illustrations for Quevedo's *Parnaso Español* (1648), however badly engraved, do provide a documented comparison for the Venetianesque setting of the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Similar qualities of line and wash as well as the same types of figures also appear in the *Death of St. Joseph* (No. xxxiii), formerly in the Boix Collection. It has been even more thoroughly restored than the previous sheet.

Two other fine drawings may belong to the very end of Cano's Madrid period, yet it is equally possible that they were produced in his early years at Granada. Without any sort of documentary information it is difficult to date them more closely than ca. 1650-1657. The first is a charming little *St. Joseph and the Infant Christ* shown walking in a landscape (No. xxxi), one of the few

10. Museo del Prado, *Catálogo*, Madrid, 1945, No. 627.

drawings on exhibition in the Prado Museum and consequently well known. Here Cano seems to have established the iconography which was later adopted by Murillo.¹¹ The second drawing is a newly discovered item, recently acquired by the Museum of Art of the University of Michigan. It represents the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (Fig. 9; No. v) in a symbolic way, for the event is reduced to a group of five figures, and the multitude is omitted altogether. Barring that omission, the iconography follows the Andalusian tradition in the way Christ, Philip, Andrew, and the lad (John vi: 5-14) are placed at the side under trees. At this same period (1647) Herrera, the Elder, painted a large canvas of the subject now in the Archiepiscopal Palace in Madrid.¹² He included Christ's apostles and the multitude of five thousand, yet the two works show in the respects just mentioned that they are descended from the same iconographic background. Murillo's well-known version of the subject (1670-1674) in the Hospital of Charity at Seville, although much later in date, maintains the principal elements used by Herrera, the Elder. The economy and synthesis of Alonso Cano's drawing is, by comparison, altogether remarkable and another indication of the originality of his contributions to the evolution of seventeenth century iconography.¹³ The inclusion of the woman at the right, possibly the Madonna, is likewise unusual. Here is a drawing of lyrical bucolic mood and hence essentially Andalusian. For that reason it may be a product of those years in Granada when, despite Cano's incessant strife with the canons of Granada Cathedral who were incapable of understanding his genius, he created works of such mature and tender lyricism as the painting of the *Holy Family* in the Convento del Angel at Granada.

The *Vision of St. Felix of Cantalice* in the Prado (Fig. 2; No. xxvi), rendered in pen and bistre and wash, is a highly finished study for a well-known canvas. In technique it stands near the drawing of the *Getafe Annunciation* (Fig. 3), but, because of the greater maturity of style, I believe that it is slightly later in date, about 1650-1652. The large painting of the *Vision of St. Felix of Cantalice* is considerably inferior to the drawing, a fact to be explained by execution in part by Cano's studio assistants. The variations in actual details are few, however, the most important being a book upon the ledge and the sacks of bread in St. Felix's arms. These latter are the sure clues to the identification of the subject. The picture occupied the center of the high altar of the Capuchin church in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, where the traveler, Cruz y Bahamonde, saw it about 1800, prior to its removal during the excastration of 1835.¹⁴ This last event accounts for its present location in the Provincial Museum at Cádiz.

A hitherto unpublished work about which no doubt can be entertained is the superb drawing of *St. Catherine* (Fig. 10; No. xvi) in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg. Its history is readily reconstructed, because it is the complete preparatory study for a lost painting which was in the church of San Miguel at Madrid until its destruction by fire in 1790. This identification is documented by Alonso Cano's initials under Diego de Obregón's engraving (Fig. 11) after the painting. The drawing, following the artist's common practice, presents two choices for the architectural design of the frame. The crisp decorative beauty of his line in the flourish of the acanthus leaves, the volutes, and cherub's wings is without superior technically, and the drawing is a demonstration of the artist's impeccable good taste. Considerably more pen and less wash characterize it, in contrast to the other studies for preserved paintings just discussed above. The style of the figures displays Cano's fondness for foreshortening, and the pose of the richly garbed saint recalls the female figures of his painting of the *Miracle of the Well* in the Prado. I suspect that the works of the Venetian master, Paolo Veronese, which Cano saw in the Royal Collection, contributed to the development of his

11. See Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, "Dibujos de maestros andaluces," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, XIII, 1937, pp. 55-56.

12. The dimensions of the picture are the same as those of the canvas exhibited by the French invaders at the Alcázar, Seville, in 1810. See *ibid.*, pp. 52-53; John S. Thatcher, "The Paintings of Francisco de Herrera, the Elder," *ART BULLETIN*,

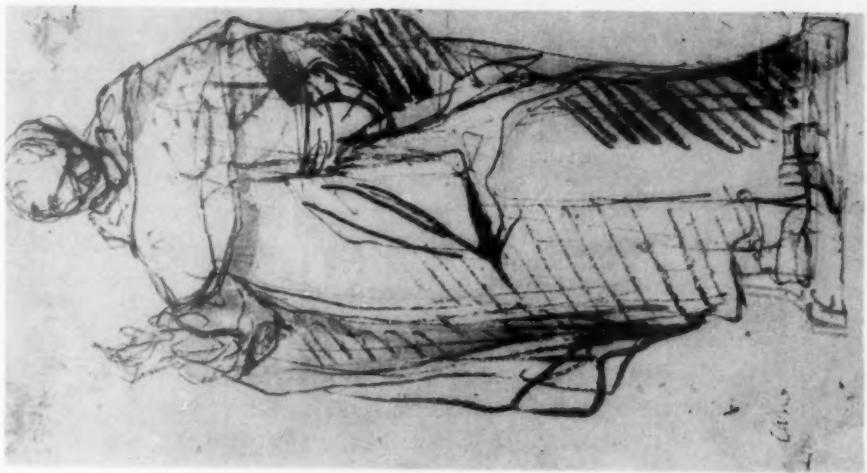
XIX, 1937, pp. 348-349.

13. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, "Vida de un tema iconográfico en la pintura andaluza," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, XIII, 1937, pp. 252-255.

14. Nicolás de Cruz y Bahamonde, *Viaje de España*, Cadiz, 1813, XIV, p. 122. The painting is reproduced in Romero de Torres, *Provincia de Cádiz*, Madrid, 1934, pl. 185.



8. Alonso Cano, *San Gonzalo de Amarante*. Getafe, parish church



7. Alonso Cano, *San Gonzalo de Amarante*. Madrid, Academia de San Fernando



6. Alonso Cano, *St. Dominic*. Madrid, Academia de San Fernando



5. Alonso Cano, *St. Elizabeth and the Infant Baptist*. Madrid, Prado



9. Alonso Cano, *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*. Ann Arbor, Museum of Art, University of Michigan



10. Alonso Cano, *St. Catherine*. Hamburg, Kunsthalle



11. Diego de Obregón, *St. Catherine*, engraving after Alonso Cano



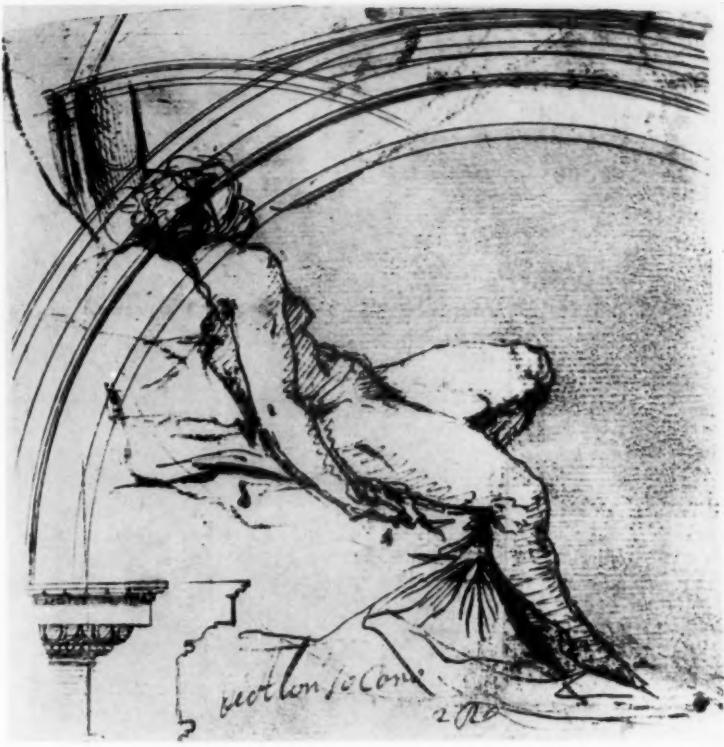
12. Alonso Cano, *Triumph of Apollo*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional



13. After Alonso Cano, *Madonna of Mercy*. Keir, William Stirling, Esq.



14. José Risueño, *Annunciation*. Detail of façade,
Granada Cathedral



15. Alonso Cano, *Reclining Nude Woman*. Madrid,
Luis Feduchi



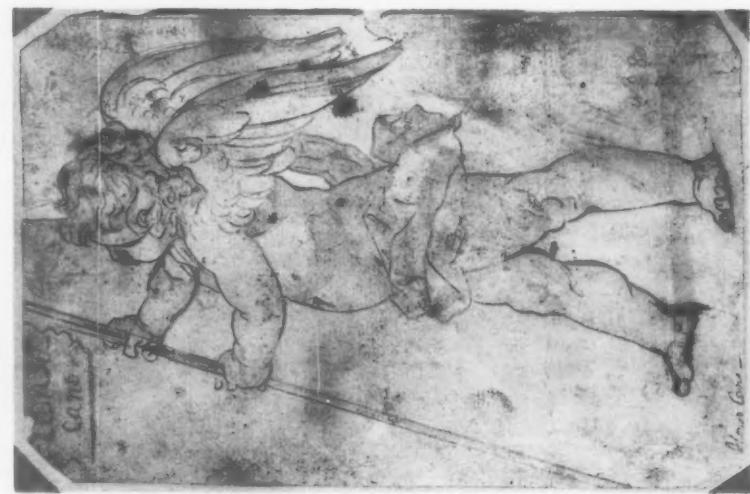
16. Alonso Cano, *Annunciation*. London, Sir Robert Witt



17. Alonso Cano, *Madonna and Child*. London, Sir Robert Witt



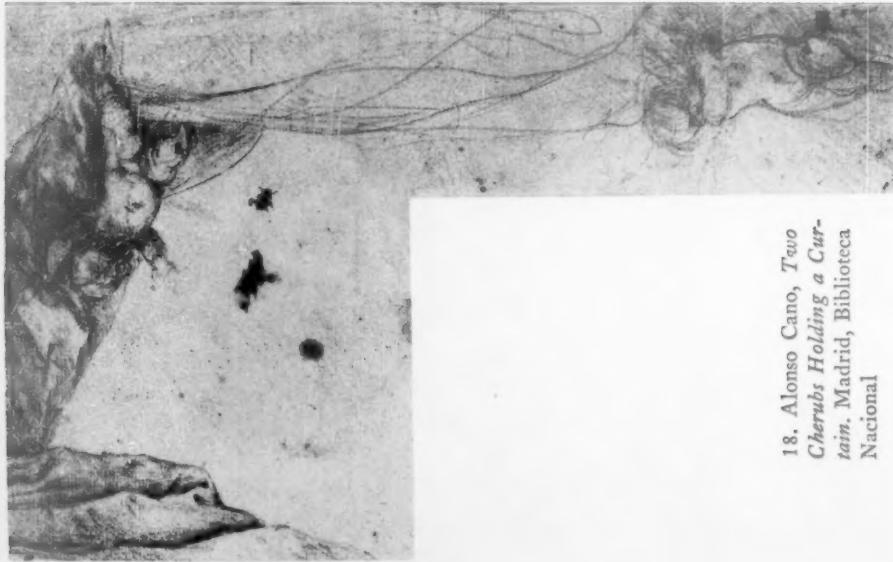
20. Alonso Cano, *San Juan Capistrano and San Bernardino*.
Granada, Provincial Museum



19. Alonso Cano, *Three Cherubs*. London, Sir Robert Witt



18. Alonso Cano, *Two Cherubs Holding a Curtain*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional



21. Alonso Cano, *San Juan Capistrano and San Bernardino*. London, Sir Robert Witt



22. Alonso Cano, *Angel with Staff*. Madrid, Prado

taste for rather fashionably dressed female saints. However that may be, the *St. Catherine* deserves recognition as one of the masterpieces of European draughtsmanship. Cano never surpassed it. The style places it at the very climax of his first Madrid period, ca. 1648-1652.

Another very striking achievement is the *Reclining Nude Woman* (Fig. 15; No. 11) in Luis Feduchi's collection, a case in which the artist reused a piece of paper upon which he had previously drawn some architectural details. It seems to be a study made for his own entertainment or as a demonstration for his pupils rather than in preparation for a picture. Rarely does the nude occur in Spanish art, in part because of lack of interest in mythological subject matter which was, on the contrary, so popular in Italy and France. The basic cause, nevertheless, was the disapproval of the Church of what was regarded as pagan nudity. Cano's only female nude in painting is the figure of Eve in the *Descent into Limbo* in the Los Angeles County Museum. There, as well as in Señor Feduchi's drawing, he showed himself a complete master of the human figure. Rapid execution is suggested in this sketch by the use of zigzag lines to indicate the shadow and by repeated diagonal lines upon the head and torso. The contours and the planes are emphatically marked.

The *Triumph of Apollo* (Fig. 12; No. LIII) in the National Library at Madrid is one of Cano's finest drawings and his best study of the nude male figure. The work may have been intended for a book illustration, or more probably it is a sketch for the decorations representing Parnassus which greeted Marianna of Austria on her entrance to Madrid on November 15, 1649. The technique is again similar to that of the last drawing in the way the curving lines bring out the roundness of the cupids' bodies and in the generally strong differentiation in planes by depth of shadow. The volute ornament upon the pedestal, crisp and decorative in its outlines, is typical of the master. Close in style to the *Triumph of Apollo* is the study for a painting, the *Infant Christ and Three Angels* (No. IV) in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. These two drawings must belong to the identical year or even the same month. In both cases, the pen with no wash brings out the shape and structure of the bodies with unerring precision. This drawing is significant in its close relationship to the *Sleeping Christ Child* in oil, belonging to the Bankes Collection at Kingston Lacy, Wimborne, England.

Other drawings fall into this group of works because of Cano's manner of describing the volume of the body through diagonally curving lines of decided vigor. They are the *Christ of Patience* and the *Seated Franciscan*, both in the Prado (Nos. II, XXXV). The first mentioned shows a slight relationship in the crouching position to Cano's painting of the *Ecce Homo* in San Ginés at Madrid, but not enough to imply that it is a preparatory study for that canvas. By way of contrast, I should like to call attention to a series of three studies in the Uffizi for a *Christ at the Column*.¹⁵ They represent the work of an unknown pupil of Cano who imitated his master with moderate success. Reminiscent of them is the *Christ Before the Flagellation*, the painting by Cano's studio, now in the Academia de San Fernando. The drawing in the Prado (No. I) is usually regarded as the preparatory study for that picture. The attribution of the sketch for *Christ at the Column*, belonging to the Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia, should be shifted, on the other hand, from Cano to one of his followers. In the Uffizi are more drawings of Passion scenes, inferior in quality and all erroneously attributed to Cano. The *Risen Christ* and *St. Sebastian* may be by Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra, a follower of Cano who is without question author of the *Risen Christ* in the British Museum.¹⁶

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS

During these years in Madrid Cano supplied drawings for the title page and for the illustrations representing the Muses in the first edition (1648) of Quevedo's *Parnaso Español*. They were clumsily translated into engravings by two minor Flemings, Juan de Noort and Herman Panneels.

15. Nos. 10251-10253.

16. Uffizi 10254 and 10263; British Museum No. 1895-879, attributed to Cano.

Even if we discount the very poor quality of the prints, Cano was not particularly successful as an illustrator of books. The compositions, crowded and undistinguished, may in part be blamed upon the iconographic inventions of the poet who signed with the initials "D. I. A." *Melpomene*, with the Muse placed in the center and landscape views and subordinate figures in the distance, is the most successful in design and also the best as an engraving. Juan de Noort shows himself here as a much better craftsman than the other, really incompetent engraver, Herman Panneels. The remaining four compositions show the Muse placed at the side, in each case, and a distant landscape with subordinate allegorical matter at the opposite side. None of Cano's original studies, which would be of far greater import than these prints, is known to exist. The title page presents Quevedo crowned with laurel wreath by Thalia, as he kneels before the nine Muses at the left. Pegasus flies above Mt. Helicon from which sprang at the blow of his hoof the fountain, Hippocrene, inspirer of the Muses. The conception of the whole scene is mediocre in the extreme. From the point of view of style, the arrangement of drapery in these prints follows the same formulae present in Cano's paintings during his mature Madrid period. The total impression in the illustrations for Quevedo's *Parnaso Español* reflects Cano's inexperience in non-religious subject matter. Any Italian master, long versed in the allegorical traditions and the mythological in the iconography of art, could have handled such problems with relative ease. They are foreign to Cano and to Spanish culture in general.

GRANADA 1652-1667

Cano's one other excursion into the field of book illustration was, so far as we know, the title page for Antonio Terrones de Robles' *Vida . . . de San Euphrasio* published at Granada in 1657. The Prado drawing (No. LII) manifests every indication of Cano's own hand and style in this period. Sir Robert Witt of London possesses another version of the title page which seems to be the engraver's working sheet after Cano's original suggestion. Pedro Gutiérrez signed the printed page, but gave Cano no credit for his part in planning the illustration. The printed work is naturally reversed in position, and, moreover, it differs in ornamental details from both drawings. Cano seems to have supplied the general idea for the page and the figures of the two saints, something which he probably dashed off in a short time for very little profit and without printed acknowledgment. Much in the same style is the small drawing of *St. Joachim* (No. xxix) in the Academia de San Fernando which I assume, however, to be intended for a detail of a sculptured altar. It is a tiny sheet like many of Cano's studies, yet the figure is fully modeled.

The sketch of *San Juan Capistrano and San Bernardino* (Fig. 21; No. xxxiv), also in small format, shows one of the artist's preliminary ideas for the large canvas (Fig. 22) from the Franciscan monastery of San Antonio y San Diego, now in the Provincial Museum at Granada. The general plan for the picture was complete in his mind, although he later altered the position of a head or of hands. Similar modifications between the rough sketches and the finished paintings are observable in nearly every instance. In more detailed wash drawings like the *Vision of St. Felix of Cantalice* (Fig. 2), the artist presented his composition after it had presumably been developed through a series of quick sketches like the present one. Such works are extremely significant as indications of the way the artist's creative ideas matured. He achieved greater unity in the painting of *San Juan Capistrano and San Bernardino* than in the drawing by turning the heads of the two saints toward each other. He emphasized a Baroque spatial concept by the position of the tablet in San Bernardino's hands, replacing the tall shield which appears in the sketch.

Although by no means so obviously a study for the *Annunciation* (1655-1656) of Granada Cathedral, the superb sheet in Sir Robert Witt's Collection (Fig. 16; No. viii) is, I believe, just that. Again it has to do with the artist's creative imagination at work, with his speculations as to possibilities of compositional arrangement. The Virgin at the left is startled as she kneels before a prayer desk, while cherubs pull back great Baroque curtains to reveal a glory of supernatural light,

much in the way the scene occurs in the painting. The drawing is one of Cano's most brilliant, executed with the bold assurance of an accomplished master. Technically, it is typical of him at his best. On the reverse of the sheet, the *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 17) appear in half length. The position of the Child as he bends and looks downward clearly identifies the subject as a scene of apparition, most probably a *Madonna of the Rosary* in which the Child hands the rosary to St. Dominic as he kneels below. Cano's only extant painting of the subject in Málaga Cathedral seems, however, to have no connection with this sketch. A more fully modeled and a more precise detail for a picture similar to the Granada *Annunciation* is the pencil study of *Two Cherubs Holding a Curtain* (Fig. 18; No. XLIX) in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. It will be noticed that the positions of the cherubs are nearly identical here and in Sir Robert Witt's *Annunciation*. Similar cherubs appear likewise in paintings such as the Getafe *Annunciation* (Fig. 4) and the large canvas of this subject by Cano's school in the sacristy of Granada Cathedral. The drawing of *Two Cherubs Holding a Curtain* might belong to either Cano's Madrid or Granadine period. Sir Robert Witt's unpublished decorative sketch, *Three Cherubs* (Fig. 19; No. XLVIII), intended for sculpture, is similar in the handling of the pen to the *Annunciation* (Fig. 16) in the same collection.

Reasonable doubt prevails as to the exact dates of a number of drawings, for instance, the study for an *Immaculate Conception* (No. XII) in the Biblioteca Nacional. The tapering design of the drapery is a Canesque feature which the artist brought to full realization in the statuette and in the painting of the same subject in the sacristy and oratory of Granada Cathedral. The drawing differs from these works, however, in the way the drapery falls free below the Madonna's right arm and in the lack of the soft rounded puffs of material, seen in the Granadine examples. Hence it would appear to be transitional to these famous productions. The definitely downward bend of the Madonna's head occurs in the early *Immaculate Conception* in sculptured wood of the Sevillian period, attributed to the artist by some historians.¹⁷ The tilted head of the beautiful pencil drawing of the *Madonna and Child* in half-length in the Prado (Fig. 24; No. XIII) is entirely another matter. In this case, there is a tiny oval face which shows immediate relationship to the painting of the *Madonna and Child Seated in the Clouds* of the Curia Ecclesiástica at Granada, and hence the drawing fits into the very last period of Cano's career after his reinstatement as prebend at Granada in 1660. Although the composition differs in many respects from the Curia picture, the least that can be said is that Cano had in mind a similar work. Never did he handle pencil with greater brio than in this, one of the masterpieces of seventeenth century draughtsmanship. Two small pen and bistre drawings of this same late phase and of exquisite delicacy are the *Infant Christ and Infant Baptist* in the Prado and the *Infant St. John the Baptist* (Nos. III, XXX), formerly belonging to the Boix Collection. The former is an exact study for the splendid oil in the Hermitage. In consideration of drawings of such superior quality, equal to the best European traditions of the Baroque age, the numerous attributions of mediocre and, still worse, of frankly bad drawings and paintings to Cano make no sense at all.

The preparatory drawing for Cano's large canvas of the *Assumption of the Virgin* (1662-1663) in the sanctuary of Granada Cathedral is preserved, unpublished, in the British Museum (Figs. 25-26; No. X). Both the quality of the draughtsmanship and the identity of the composition with the painting leave no doubt of his authorship. Only the positions of some of the cherubs have been slightly modified in the finished work, for in the study Cano's ideas were completely formulated. This sheet proves without a shadow of a doubt that other drawings of the same subject in pen and bistre are by pupils and imitators. Of the four which have been published, all present the Madonna in a seated posture rather than kneeling as Cano himself placed her. The best of them, formerly in the Boix Collection, follows the master to some extent in the positions of the angels.¹⁸ Another,

17. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "Alonso Cano escultor," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, II, 1926, figs. 10-13, 17.

18. Sánchez Cantón, *Dibujos españoles*, IV, pl. 321.

in the British Museum, is confused and badly designed, although the style indicates that it came from the hand of one of Cano's better pupils, Herrera Barnuevo.¹⁹ Bocanegra's hand is readily identified in the third drawing of the *Assumption*, belonging to the British Museum, also erroneously assigned to Cano.²⁰ Based with some variations upon Cano's large painting in Granada Cathedral, it is an exact preparatory sheet for Bocanegra's own picture of the theme, now in the Provincial Museum at Granada. The fourth version, a single figure, drawn in pencil, which was identified in the Boix Collection as Cano's because of a collector's inscription, is quite surely a weak pupil's imitation of the master. It has proved impossible to verify the present location of a drawing in the Lázaro Collection in Madrid, associated by Sánchez Cantón with this group.²¹

Large sprawling bodies of angels in Cano's *Assumption of the Virgin* (Fig. 26) mark a distinctive change in style from his earlier paintings. These athletic figures also characterize a number of drawings which, for that reason, I date at the end of his career (1660-1667). Perhaps his renewed contact with works of late Renaissance masters of Italy which he saw in Madrid during his second sojourn there (1657-1660) may account for this stylistic development. Bocanegra and other late Granadine imitators of Cano clearly substantiate the chronological sequence. The *Sacrifice of Isaac*, a drawing by Cano in the Prado (No. xxviii), is a good example of the large proportions of figures in this phase of the master's last style. In the same period I also place the spirited *Coronation of a Poet* in the Prado (No. 1), contrary to others who have proposed a date much earlier in Madrid. The subject would suggest a title page to be engraved for a book or decorations for a festival. It is a brilliant rapid sketch, dashed off with assurance. The *Three Angels* (No. xlvi), a sheet of studies in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan at Madrid, strikes me as somewhat mediocre, lying in the limbo of productions between master and pupils. If by Cano, it is disappointing; if by a follower like Bocanegra, he approached more nearly to his teacher than usual.

One of the most difficult problems in connection with drawings by Cano and his school concerns a number of small studies, all semicircular in shape, most of which illustrate the legend of St. Dominic. They are generally associated with a series of paintings formerly in the cloister of Santo Domingo at Granada, said by Palomino to have been executed by a man named Castillo after Cano's preparatory studies. Some appear really to have come from Cano's hand, while others are school productions and copies of lost originals. The best of them, both worthy of the master, are *St. Dominic's Miraculous Portrait at Soriano* and *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos* (Fig. 1; Nos. xx, xxiv), both in the Prado. They have the dramatic emphasis of his last paintings, the first mentioned being comparable in spirit, in physical types, and in depth of shadows with the *Birth of the Virgin* (1663-1664) in Granada Cathedral. Somewhat similar in iconography but by no means identical is the painting of the same Dominican legend in Gómez-Moreno's collection, as well as another incorrectly attributed to Cano himself in the Hermitage. For the *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos* no extant painting of similar iconography or stylistic character is known. It is a most impressive work, monumental to a degree which is almost Michelangelesque. That St. John should have been included in a Dominican series is not unreasonable, since Evangelists and Fathers of the Latin Church fit into any such iconographic scheme.

Other drawings in the series are Canesque in their architectural interior settings and in general figure style as well as in the handling of the bistre wash. Yet qualitatively they are inferior to those just analyzed. They include the *Discovery of a Sleeping Child*, the *St. Dominic, St. Francis, and the Madonna Intercede with Christ to Save Mankind*, the *Dream of Pope Honori*, and *Avenging Angels*. In my catalogue (Nos. xix-xxiv) are cited various copies, the existence of which indicate that these drawings were admired. Copies only are known of other related subjects: *Institution of*

19. Published as Cano by John C. Robinson, "Early Works of Velázquez," *Burlington Magazine*, XI, 1907, pp. 320-321.

20. No. 1910-42.
21. Sánchez Cantón, *op.cit.*, pl. 321.



23. Alonso Cano, *St. Augustine Kneeling Before the Pope*.
Hamburg, Kunsthalle



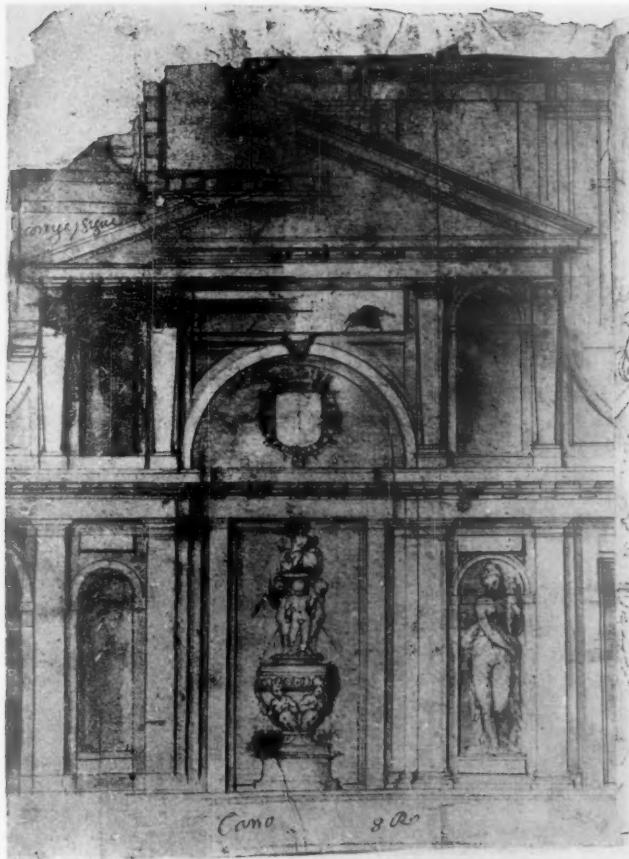
24. Alonso Cano, *Madonna and Child*. Madrid, Prado



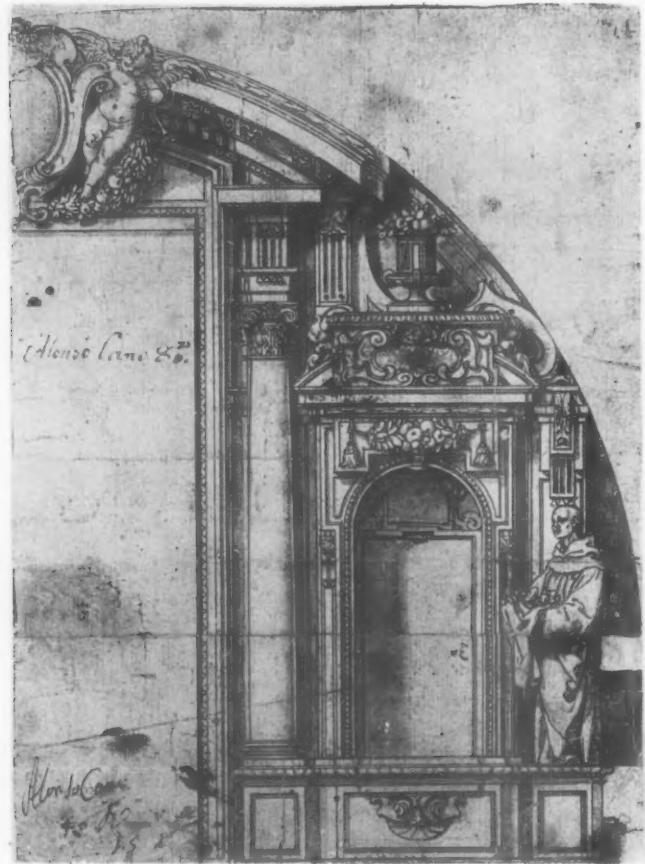
25. Alonso Cano, *Assumption of the Virgin*. London,
British Museum



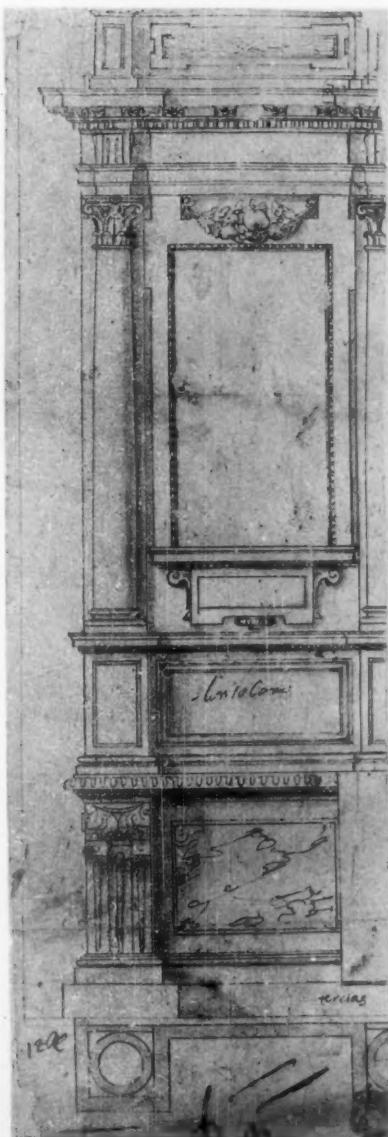
26. Alonso Cano, *Assumption of the Virgin*.
Granada Cathedral



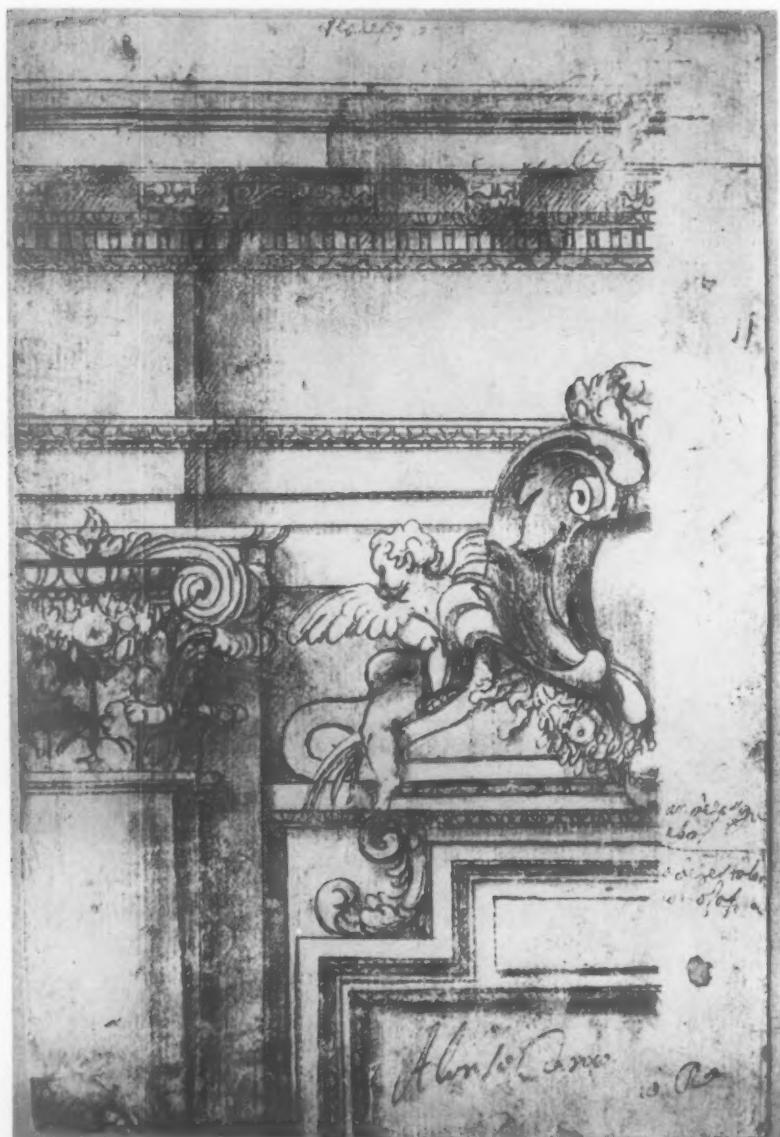
27. Alonso Cano, *Fountain*. Madrid,
Beruete y Moret (formerly)



28. Alonso Cano, *Architectural Study*.
Hamburg, Kunsthalle



29. Alonso Cano,
Study for a Re-
table. Madrid,
Academia de San
Fernando



30. Alonso Cano,
Architectural
Study. Madrid,
Manuel Martinez
Chumillas

*the Rosary, Angels Bring Bread to St. Dominic and His Monks at San Sisto, Rome and Curing of a Possessed Woman Before St. Peter Martyr's Tomb.*²²

An unpublished drawing in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg is closely analogous in style and technique, and it has the same shape and approximate size as the Dominican series. It cannot belong to that group, however, because the monk seems to be an Augustinian, and consequently the episode should represent *St. Augustine Kneeling Before the Pope* (Fig. 23; No. xv). If Cano himself painted a series of the life of St. Augustine, we have no record of it. Palomino does state that his pupil, Juan Niño de Guevara, did two such cycles, one in the cloister of the Augustinians in Córdoba and another in their cloister in Granada.²³ Yet the Hamburg drawing is superior to Niño de Guevara's work and stands closer to Cano himself. On the other hand, another drawing of the same format in Hamburg, the *Baptism of a Child*, is distinctly by a weak imitator of Cano.

PROBLEMATIC ATTRIBUTIONS

A considerable number of drawings have been published in prominent books under Cano's name, but several attributions are groundless and others deserve to be put into the category of school productions or works of followers. Examples of drawings which have no connection whatsoever with Cano or his school are the *Madonna of Mercy* and the *Gothic King* reproduced by A. L. Mayer in his book on Spanish drawings.²⁴ An interesting wash drawing in the British Museum, the *Magdalene in Penitence*, seems to owe its attribution to Cano chiefly because of the tradition that he painted the theme with frequency.²⁵ Stylistically it is not Canesque, and qualitatively it falls below a work in the same technique such as the *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos*, already discussed. On the other hand, a mediocre study of *Two Evangelists* in the Prado impresses one as a copy of a lost original, while the *Trinity* of the Boix Collection and *St. Joseph* of the Academia de San Fernando are students' sketches after well-known paintings attributed to the master.²⁶ Surely a copy is the half-length *Madonna and Child*²⁷ in the Prado, a work which reflects Cano's late style. On the contrary, the *Madonna at the Cross* (No. xiv), belonging to the same phase, seems to be an authentic example of the master's own draughtsmanship, although Sánchez Cantón and Gómez-Moreno classified it as a copy. I shall not argue the case for every one of the dubious attributions but, since they are very numerous, a list of rejected works arranged by collections is placed in the appendix. Only a few of the more debatable problems are mentioned here.

The *St. Augustine and St. Gregory* formerly in the Boix Collection would have to be placed very early in the artist's career at Seville, if it could be accepted as his.²⁸ Only the identifying initials which are by a later hand supply any evidence of his authorship. No extant paintings bear any resemblance to the style of this drawing. Another difficult problem involves the *St. Joseph and the Christ Child Walking*, in the Royal Palace Library at Madrid,²⁹ a most accomplished and beautiful specimen of the draughtsman's art. The inscription "En Sevilla ventidos de octubre" is not in Cano's handwriting and neither is the name "Cano" at the lower center. From the point of view of quality it is worthy of the master, yet there is no positive reason to believe it is. In the case of the two tiny figure studies in the Prado, they can be proved to be from the hand not of Cano but of Bocanegra, for they are preparatory sketches for the latter's *Preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer* in the collection of the Marqués de Guad-el-Jelú in Madrid.³⁰

Another sheet such as the *Annunciation* (No. ix) of the Boix Collection stands in the limbo between Cano and Bocanegra, but seems slightly too skillful for the pupil. Surely Canesque but not

22. The first is in the Prado (*ibid.*, pl. 331); another copy in the Vasconcel Collection, Barcelona. The second exists in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and in the Vasconcel Collection. The third is in the Prado (*ibid.*, pl. 329); another copy in the Biblioteca Nacional.

23. Palomino, *op.cit.*, p. 344. Mrs. Delphine Darby has suggested that St. Benedict may be represented here, because

the scene in the background might be the resurrection of the boy killed during the construction of Monte Cassino.

24. A. L. Mayer, *Dibujos de maestros españoles*, Leipzig, 1920, I, pls. 56, 58; Barcia, *op.cit.*, Nos. 219, 232.

25. Sánchez Cantón, *op.cit.*, pl. 298.

26. *ibid.*, pls. 299, 309, 324.

27. *ibid.*, pl. 313.

28. *ibid.*, pl. 295.

29. *ibid.*, pl. 290.

30. *ibid.*, pl. 302.

clearly related to any particular follower is a second *Annunciation* of the Boix Collection.³¹ On the other hand, the *Gabriel* in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg seems unmistakably by Juan Niño de Guevara, on comparison with his large canvas of the *Annunciation* in Málaga Cathedral. Finally, the Hamburg museum possesses a tiny *St. Anthony of Padua and the Infant Christ* in pencil which is the preparatory study for the etching of the same subject, well known from the example of it in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. Both the etching and the unpublished drawing have been attributed to Cano. Neither is worthy of his hand, although the composition of the setting is based upon his style, notably in the Baroque curtain and the arrangement of the spatial depth.

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

Enough of Cano's architectural studies are known so that his ability as a draughtsman and his unerring good taste are clearly demonstrated. The accusation of extravagance in architectural design, leveled against him by Llaguno y Amírola and other Neo-classicists, can no longer be maintained by anyone who takes the trouble to examine his works. Most of the architectural studies are designs for retablos, the two projects for fountains being the chief exceptions. One of the finest, cleanly and precisely drawn, is the elevation for the side of an altar, now in the Academia de San Fernando (Fig. 29; No. XLIV). The elements of the design, in the use of the triglyph over the column, the bracketed cornice, the festoon of fruit, and other details of ornament, are similar enough to the *Altar of St. John the Evangelist* in Santa Paula at Seville and the high altar of Lebrija to place it in Cano's Sevillian period.³² Yet the drawing might have been produced during his early years in Madrid, a possibility suggested by the plain column which appears here and in other drawings of the Madrid period, whereas the spirally fluted column occurs in his extant Sevillian altars.

Questions of dating are nearly impossible to solve in most cases, since so few of Cano's many altars have survived until the present day. Another drawing of surprisingly sober style is the *Retablo of San Juan de Dios* (No. XLIII) in the Prado. It is not especially characteristic of the artist, for the unbroken continuity of the entablatures constitute something approaching a Renaissance type. The large cartouches at the upper sides appear in the Sevillian high altar of San Julián, the work of Cano's pupil Felipe de Ribas,³³ and Cano himself may have used them in one of his lost retablos in that city. The sketches for sculpture in the niches of the *Retablo of San Juan de Dios* suggest the artist's first Madrid period, however. The similarity of the design to Salvador Muñoz's scheme for the Getafe retablos (1645) also provides some evidence for an origin of the drawing in this phase of the artist's career. I suspect that Muñoz adopted a number of ideas suggested by Cano. Particularly striking are the similarities in the handling of the columns and the friezes in the two works. Unquestionably dated at this time is the study for the high altar of San Andrés in Madrid (No. XLII), which must be contemporary with the rebuilding of the church, initiated in 1642. The sketches for the sculpture are similar to those in the *Retablo of San Juan de Dios* and the architectural details differ chiefly in Cano's adoption of the bracketed frieze in the San Andrés altar. He topped the structure with one of his most characteristic decorative constructions of volutes, shell, festoons, and cherubs. Angels and *putti*, which he always managed in such a captivating way, appear seated and reclining in the lower section. For the center was intended a painting of the *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* and below it a reliquary of the saint atop the tabernacle. The high altar of San Andrés as carried out shows virtually no relationship to Cano's original scheme.³⁴

Two monumental fountains seem to have been planned by Cano during his career at the court of Philip IV. The drawing for a wall fountain (Fig. 27; No. XLI), formerly in the Beruete Collection at Madrid, shows a monument of essentially classical character. The broad triumphal-arch

31. *ibid.*, pl. 308.

32. Illustrated by Gómez-Moreno, *op.cit.*, fig. 23.

33. Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, *Estudios de los*

edificios . . . saqueados y destruidos por los marxistas, Seville, 1936, fig. 6.

34. Destroyed in 1936-1938 but known in photographs.

scheme of two stories, in excellent scale, has Tuscan pilasters in the first story and Ionic in the second. The tapering shape of the latter is similar to what the Spanish call an *estípite*, and it constitutes the only unconventional element. In the lower center stands a large urn, carved in relief with nude female figures and supporting three *putti* from whose bodies small streams of water spout. The nude figure at the right representing Abundance is extraordinarily beautiful, one of Cano's few excursions into the classical tradition of the nude body. This fountain must have been planned for the garden of a palace, since its essentially worldly character, so far as the sculpture is concerned, would not seem fitting for a civic monument in Spain. The Spanish royal escutcheon, though incomplete, decorates the central section, suggesting that the fountain may have been intended for the gardens of Buen Retiro. We have, however, no information beyond the drawing itself. The study for a monumental fountain for the Plaza de Cebada in Madrid is another situation, for that fountain was built, and it is still known to us in several prints of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁵ The central section differed from the drawing only in the higher base and the presence of the royal escutcheon. On the other hand, the urns at the sides were omitted in favor of four small basins, each elevated upon a column. Again we are struck with the consistent sobriety and classicism of the artist. This drawing is, however, a copy of a lost original by Cano.

Three superb studies of architectural and decorative details for retablos are preserved: one in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg and two in the collection of Martínez Chumillas. The first of these (Fig. 28; No. xxxvi) is the most complete: the right half of the top story of an altar. Its richly ornamented scheme suggests a mature phase of the artist's career, either late in the Madrid period (ca. 1650) or, more likely, during his years of great activity at Granada. The date of all four drawings listed above is hypothetical. The one in Hamburg, however, may be connected with the retablos which the artist designed for the Franciscan monastery, San Antonio y San Diego in Granada (ca. 1652-1657), in view of the inclusion of the Franciscan saint at the right, possibly San Diego de Alcalá. The study for the title page of Antonio Terrones de Robles' *Vida . . . de San Euphrasio* (1657) furnishes the best stylistic comparison. Cano's familiar angels and festoons of fruit decorate both with luxuriance. The retable also includes his favorite volutes and triglyphs. The latter in one instance suspended beneath an acanthus bracket has three guttae on the lower edge. This Michelangelesque motive which appears in the court of the Farnese Palace at Rome had attained wide currency by this time, presumably transmitted by means of engravings of the Renaissance master's buildings.³⁶ The Hamburg drawing, hitherto unpublished, is one of Cano's best. Very similar in quality and style are the two studies belonging to Martínez Chumillas. The better known of the two, formerly in the Beruete Collection (Fig. 30; No. xxxviii), is virtually signed, for the directions scribbled at the lower right are in Cano's writing, whereas the name of the artist was written by a collector at a later period. The cleanliness and sureness of Cano's line are beautifully registered here in the architectural ornament, the splendid capital, the charming angel, and the accompanying volute. Any study of these authentic specimens of the artist's draughtsmanship should serve to eliminate the large quantity of wrong attributions which continue to be accepted without discrimination. The second study which is the property of Martínez Chumillas (No. xxxvii) shows two alternate ideas submitted to the artist's patron for his approval.³⁷ This device also occurs in the frame of the *St. Catherine* (Fig. 10) in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg. The latter is a more finished study than the example under discussion, for the festoons and angels are only sketched, yet complete in their significance, in the Madrid drawing. The simplicity of the molding is again a characteristic worthy of observation.

35. Carlos Sainz de Robles, *Historia y estampas de la villa de Madrid*, Madrid, 1933, p. 255; the drawing is reproduced in Sánchez Cantón, *op.cit.*, pl. 347.

36. See Sancho Corbacho, *Dibujos arquitectónicos del siglo*

XVII, Seville, 1947, figs. 44, 52, 59, 69, etc.

37. Martínez Chumillas, *Alonso Cano*, Madrid, 1948, fig. 272.

The *Decorative Study* (No. xxxix) in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, although one of Cano's richest and most exuberant, is badly preserved and considerably retouched. The lovely female figure with a tambour at the left must be an allegorical personage. That and the general lavishness of ornamentation would befit some special decorations for a festival or pageant, and they do not seem applicable to an altarpiece. Far more exceptional still is the study for a *Doorway with Spiral Column* (No. xl) in the Biblioteca Nacional, since it is the only instance of that type of column in the artist's entire career. About 1650 the spiral, or *salomónica* as the Spanish called it, began to supplant the normal straight column in late Baroque retablos. Toward the end of the century it became popular in the portals of domestic and ecclesiastical architecture.³⁸ That Cano had any particular share in this development seems unlikely, for his life span and his style of architectural design belong to the early Baroque phase. The attribution of the drawing to Cano seems reliable, nevertheless. It has one other peculiarity in the way the cornice rests directly upon the capital without benefit of the traditional entablature.

The *Sketch for a Tabernacle* (No. xlv) in the Biblioteca Nacional, as Martínez Chumillas has suggested, might be the project for the lost tabernacle of Málaga Cathedral.³⁹ On the other hand, it displays very little if anything of Cano's characteristics of draughtsmanship or of architectural design. The tumbling postures of the angels, the elongated figures in the niches, the use of a cherub's head for the capital of a pilaster have no precedent in his designs. The great problem is, when lacking documentation, to speculate as to how much a given artist may vary, without forgetting the fact that there have lived and worked many other masters whose artistic personalities are completely lost.

One final drawing, recently discovered in a closet in the mansion of William Stirling at Keir, Scotland, remains to be discussed (Fig. 13). Although the careless draughtsmanship shows unmistakably that it is a copy, a small section extracted from a larger scheme, its historical importance is, nevertheless, extraordinary. Here we have a detail of Cano's project for the façade of Granada Cathedral, and the only surviving graphic evidence of his plans. Cano's design for this famous façade was accepted just four months before the artist died. On May 4, 1667, after more than a century of change and delay in completing the cathedral, the canons made him chief architect (*maestro mayor*) and accepted his plan for the façade, saying that it "seemed all right" (*aviendo parecido bien*), faint words for one of the most original creations of Spanish Baroque architecture.⁴⁰ Cano's death on September 3 of the same year gave him little opportunity personally to put his ideas into effect, but the general design as carried out is obviously his, the sculptural and decorative details only having been later modified. The roundel enclosing the *Annunciation*, carved in stone by José Risueno in 1717 (Fig. 14), still retains his characteristic type of composition.⁴¹ The Keir drawing was surely intended for a relief in the space above the central oculus or for one of the four medallions just below the cornice of the first story. These reliefs, now representing the four Evangelists, were carved much later, however, in the last two decades of the eighteenth century by the Frenchmen, Miguel and Luis Verdiger.⁴² In keeping with the taste of their day, they substituted elliptical medallions for the roundels which appear elsewhere in the façade and in the Keir drawing. The style of the figures and the volute beneath the medallion in the latter are typically Canesque, leaving

38. See Harold E. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 217.

39. Martínez Chumillas, *op.cit.*, p. 398.

40. "Asimismo se conferenzió sobre el gobierno de la obra y como ésta falta de maestro mayor que es notable y aviendo traído el sr. racionero D. Alonso Cano a el Cabildo una planta de la fachada principal y aviendo parecido bien ya que para ejecutarla es necesario que el dicho sr. racionero la govierne toda la obra. Resolvió el Cabildo que dicho sr. racionero sea agora maestro mayor y le estienda un mandado y orden y así Juan de Paramo como los demás oficiales que concurren a

trabajar esta obra. Y que el licenciado Joaquín de Agüero contador desta santa yglesia ajuste desde primero día de Henero dese año los aniversarios a que no a asistido y que en adelante perdiere dicho sr. racionero para que a su tiempo se libre de la fábrica la cantidad perdida." [Actas Capitulares, May 4, 1667, libro 16, 1664-1669, folio 252, Granada Cathedral.]

41. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, the Elder, *Guia de Granada*, Granada, 1892, p. 261.

42. *ibid.*

no doubt that we have a replica, probably a sculptor's working sheet, from Cano's lost plan. Only the rosette ornament of the roundel seems less typical in Cano's repertory of ornament, and the monogram at the lower left was added, to be sure, in the late eighteenth or nineteenth century. The Keir drawing is, from the archaeological point of view, one of the most interesting bits of new evidence for the reconstruction of the artist's career.

The present article on Alonso Cano's drawings is the outgrowth of the preparation of a monograph devoted to the life and works of this versatile master who was painter, sculptor, and architect. For that reason, the drawings are studied in relation to his paintings and architecture to a greater degree than hitherto. Furthermore, an effort has been made to limit his accepted drawings to relatively certain works, since he has been more abused by erroneous attributions in all branches of his activity, but most of all in paintings, than any other master of the Spanish school. If judgment is based upon authentic drawings, it is clear that Cano was a first-rate draughtsman and that his contemporaries, Lázaro Díez del Valle and Jusepe Martínez,⁴³ were right in regarding him as one of the great figures of Spain's golden age of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴

43. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias*, II, pp. 387-390; III, pp. 35-36.

44. Photographs were obtained from museums possessing the drawings, from Moreno in Madrid, Archivo Mas in Barcelona, Torres Molina in Granada, A. C. Cooper in London, and Ideal Studios in Glasgow. Figures 4, 8, 14, 22, and

30 were taken by my wife, Alice S. Wethey. I am much indebted to Ellis K. Waterhouse, Esq., director of the National Gallery of Scotland, for his kindness in securing for me photographs of the drawings at Keir, and to Sir Robert Witt for photographs of drawings in his collection.

CATALOGUE OF DRAWINGS BY ALONSO CANO

Dimensions given are usually the maximum when dealing with irregular sheets of paper. The first dimension is the height, and the second the breadth.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

Barcia, 221	Barcia, Angel M. de, <i>Catálogo de la colección de dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional</i> , Madrid, 1906, No. 221.
Catálogo . . . San Fernando, 33	<i>Catálogo de la sala de dibujos de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando</i> , Madrid, 1941, No. 33.
Mayer, 60	Mayer, August L., <i>Dibujos originales de maestros españoles</i> , New York, 1920, pl. 60.
Sánchez Cantón, 320	Sánchez Cantón, <i>Dibujos españoles</i> , Madrid, 1930, IV, pl. 320.

LIFE OF CHRIST

I. CHRIST BEFORE THE FLAGELLATION

Pen and bistre and wash and white chalk. 4 3/4 x 2 15/16 inches (122 x 74 mm.)
Madrid, Prado
Circa 1645
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 320.

II. CHRIST OF PATIENCE

Pen and bistre and wash. 6 5/8 x 3 inches (168 x 75 mm.)

V. MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES AND FISHES (Fig. 9)

Pen and bistre and wash. 3 9/10 x 7 1/2 inches (100 x 192 mm.)
Ann Arbor, Museum of Art, University of Michigan
Circa 1650-1657

VI. REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Pen and bistre and wash. 6 7/8 x 7 5/8 inches (175 x 189 mm.)
New York, Morgan Library
Circa 1645
A copy formerly belonged to the Duke of Alba.

Collections: J. C. Robinson; C. Fairfax Murray.
Bibliography: *J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings*, London, 1912, III, No. 126; Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, "Dibujos de maestros andaluces," *Archivo español de arte*, XIII, 1937, pp. 58-59.

LIFE OF THE MADONNA

VII. ANNUNCIATION (Fig. 3)

Pen and bistre and wash. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ inches (259 x 176 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1645

Study for the Getafe retable.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 306.

VIII. ANNUNCIATION AND MADONNA AND CHILD (Figs. 16-17)

Pen and bistre and wash. $14\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$ inches (374 x 219 mm.)

London, Sir Robert Witt (No. 2312)

Circa 1652-1655

Apparently a study for the *Annunciation* of Granada Cathedral; the *Madonna and Child* appears on the reverse of the sheet.

Bibliography: Catalogue of the Exhibition of 17th Century Art in Europe, London, Royal Academy, 1938, No. 481.

IX. ANNUNCIATION

Pencil. $7\frac{15}{16} \times 6\frac{2}{3}$ inches (202 x 170 mm.)

Madrid, Boix Collection (formerly)

Circa 1660-1667

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 317.

X. ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN (Fig. 25)

Pen and bistre and wash. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{16}$ inches (235 x 132 mm.)

London, British Museum (No. 1910-2-12-43)

Circa 1662

Cano's only authentic study for the painting in Granada Cathedral.

XI. CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

Pen and bistre and wash. $8\frac{1}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ inches (204 x 273 mm.)

Florence, Uffizi (No. 10,270)

Circa 1645

Study for the destroyed picture of San Isidro, Madrid.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 311.

XII. IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Pen and bistre and wash over pencil. $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ inches (173 x 103 mm.)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Circa 1652-1656

Bibliography: Barcia, 214; Sánchez Cantón, 310; Elizabeth Trapier, "Spanish Drawings," *Notes Hispanic*, I, 1941, fig. 22.

XIII. MADONNA AND CHILD (Fig. 24)

Black pencil. $9\frac{1}{8} \times 7$ inches (232 x 177 mm.)

Madrid, Prado
 Circa 1660-1664
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 304.

XIV. MADONNA AT THE CROSS

Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ inches (171 x 60 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1660-1667

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 358.

SAINTS

XV. ST. AUGUSTINE KNEELING BEFORE THE POPE (Fig. 23)

Pen and bistre and wash. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$ inches (144 x 116 mm.)

Hamburg, Kunsthalle (No. 38,501)

Circa 1652-1667

A copy in the Vasconcel Collection, Barcelona.

XVI. ST. CATHERINE (Fig. 10)

Pen and bistre and wash. $13\frac{1}{5} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches (335 x 192 mm.)

Hamburg, Kunsthalle (No. 38,497)

Circa 1648-1652

Ceán Bermúdez mentions this drawing, in his day belonging to the collection of Pedro González Sepúlveda. Diego de Obregón's mediocre engraving, signed by him and also with Cano's initials "Alº Cº inv," is valuable as documentation.

Bibliography: Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, Madrid, 1800, I, p. 219; III, p. 245.

XVII. ST. CLARA

Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (171 x 88 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1645

Related to the Getafe retable.

XVIII. ST. DOMINIC (Fig. 6)

Pen and bistre and wash. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches (191 x 107 mm.)

Madrid, Academia de San Fernando

Circa 1645

Preliminary sketch for the Getafe retable.

Bibliography: Catalogo . . . San Fernando, 33.

DOMINICAN SERIES (Nos. XIX-XXIV)

Pen and bistre and wash.

Circa 1652-1667

XIX. AVENGING ANGELS

Madrid, Prado. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches (140 x 111 mm.)

A late copy in the Vasconcel Collection.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 328.

XX. ST. DOMINIC'S MIRACULOUS PORTRAIT AT SORIANO

Madrid, Prado. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{9}{16}$ inches (144 x 116 mm.)

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 330.

XXI. *St. Dominic, St. Francis, and the Madonna Intercede with Christ to Save Mankind*
Madrid, Prado. $5\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches (135×111 mm.)

A copy formerly in the Boix Collection; the drawing in the Biblioteca Nacional represents the same subject, but is not a copy.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 326; Barcia, 205.

XXII. *Discovery of a Sleeping Child (St. Roch?)*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (133×114 mm.)

A copy in the Stirling Collection, Keir, Scotland.
Bibliography: Barcia, 229; Sánchez Cantón, 327.

XXIII. *Dream of Honorius*
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (133×114 mm.)

Bibliography: Barcia, 228; Sánchez Cantón, 325.

XXIV. *St. John the Evangelist on Patmos* (Fig. 1)
Madrid, Prado. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{15}{16}$ inches (133×126 mm.)

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 332.

XXV. *ST. ELIZABETH AND THE INFANT BAPTIST* (Fig. 5)

Pencil. $5\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches (142×67 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1645

Study for the Getafe retable.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 305.

XXVI. *VISION OF ST. FELIX OF CANTALICE* (Fig. 2)
Pen and bistre and wash over pencil. $10\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{15}{16}$ inches (263×176 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1650

Study for the picture in the Provincial Museum of Cádiz. Diego de Obregón used the figure of the Madonna for his engraving of *St. Apollonia* and identified Cano as the "inventor."

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 314.

XXVII. *SAN GONZALO DE AMARANTE* (Fig. 7)
Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches (165×95 mm.)

Madrid, Academia de San Fernando

Circa 1645

Preliminary sketch for the Getafe retable.

Bibliography: *Catálogo . . . San Fernando*, 35.

XXVIII. *SACRIFICE OF ISAAC*
Pen and bistre and wash. $4\frac{11}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches (119×143 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1660-1665

Partially retouched by a later hand.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 315.

XXIX. *ST. JOACHIM*
Pen and bistre and wash. $5\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches (138×57 mm.)

Madrid, Academia de San Fernando

Circa 1653-1657
Study for a retable.
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 339; *Catálogo . . . San Fernando*, 31².

XXX. *INFANT ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST*
Pen and black ink and wash. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{9}{10}$ inches (116×124 mm.)
Madrid, Boix Collection (formerly)
Circa 1660-1667
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 323.

XXXI. *ST. JOSEPH AND THE INFANT CHRIST*
Pen and bistre and wash. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches (121×89 mm.)
Madrid, Prado
Circa 1650-1657

A poor copy, larger in size, is also in the Prado. Due to a printer's error the illustrations are reversed in Sánchez Cantón's book.
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 355; 301 (copy).

XXXII. *ST. JOSEPH KNEELING AT CHRIST'S CRADLE*
Pen and bistre and wash. $5 \times 7\frac{3}{16}$ inches (126×182 mm.)
Madrid, Prado
Circa 1645
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 296.

XXXIII. *DEATH OF ST. JOSEPH*
Pen and bistre and wash. Much restored. $7\frac{9}{10} \times 5\frac{7}{10}$ inches (200×145 mm.)
Madrid, Boix Collection (formerly)
Circa 1645
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 297.

XXXIV. *SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO AND SAN BERNARDO* (Fig. 21)
Pen and bistre and wash. $3 \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches (76×124 mm.)
London, Sir Robert Witt
Circa 1653-1657
Preliminary sketch for the painting now in the Provincial Museum of Granada.
Collections: Sir William Stirling-Maxwell.

XXXV. *SEATED FRANCISCAN*
Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches (158×56 mm.)
Madrid, Prado
Circa 1638-1652
Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 294.

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE STUDIES

XXXVI. *ARCHITECTURAL STUDY, DETAIL OF A RETABLE* (Fig. 28)
Pen and bistre and wash. $10\frac{3}{5} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches (270×197 mm.)
Hamburg, Kunsthalle (No. 38,498)
Granadine period, 1652-1657.

XXXVII. ARCHITECTURAL STUDY, DETAIL OF A RETABLE

Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{8}$ inches
(155 x 257 mm.)

Madrid, Manuel Martínez Chumillas

Circa 1652-1657

The drawing is authentic, but the name upon it is an identification rather than a signature.

Bibliography: Martínez Chumillas, *Alonso Cano*, Madrid, 1948, fig. 272.

XXXVIII. ARCHITECTURAL STUDY, DETAIL OF A RETABLE (Fig. 30)

Pen and bistre and wash. $8\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{16}$ inches
(206 x 138 mm.)

Madrid, Manuel Martínez Chumillas

Circa 1652-1657

At the right are the words written for the benefit of Cano's assistants: "a de ser talón con ojos" and "an de ser gruesos." These words are in Cano's hand on comparison with the Getafe documents.

Collections: Beruete y Moret, Madrid

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 348.

XXXIX. DECORATIVE DETAIL

Black and red crayon and pen and bistre. $7\frac{7}{16} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches (188 x 148 mm.)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Circa 1645-1652

The drawing has been considerably reworked by a later hand.

Bibliography: Barcia, 240; Sánchez Cantón, 349.

XL. DOORWAY WITH SPIRAL COLUMN

Pen and bistre and wash. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{16}$ inches
(317 x 185 mm.)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Retouched with pencil in the frieze.

Circa 1650-1667

Bibliography: Barcia, 241; Sánchez Cantón, 345.

XLI. FOUNTAIN (Fig. 27)

Pen and bistre. Size unknown.

Madrid, Beruete y Moret (formerly)

Circa 1645-1652

The words "corrige y sigue" are in Cano's writing.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 346.

XLII. HIGH ALTAR OF SAN ANDRÉS, MADRID

Pen and bistre and wash. $11\frac{5}{16} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches
(286 x 122 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1642-1652

This altar was never built.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 340-342.

XLIII. RETABLE OF SAN JUAN DE DIOS

Pen and bistre and wash over pencil. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches (237 x 160 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1640-1650

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 343.

XLIV. STUDY FOR A RETABLE (Fig. 29)

Pen and black ink and wash. $12\frac{2}{3} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches
(322 x 108 mm.)

Madrid, Academia de San Fernando

Circa 1635-1645

Bibliography: *Catálogo . . . San Fernando*, 36.

XLV. SKETCH FOR A TABERNACLE

Pen and bistre and wash. $8 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches (205 x 210 mm.)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Alonso Cano (?). Circa 1660-1665

Bibliography: Barcia, 239; Sánchez Cantón, 344.

MISCELLANEOUS

XLVI. ANGEL WITH STAFF (Fig. 22)

Pencil, pen and bistre, and wash. $6\frac{13}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches (172 x 110 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1635-1638

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 289.

XLVII. THREE ANGELS

Pen and bistre and wash. $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches (187 x 143 mm.)

Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan

Circa 1660-1667

By Cano or school

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 334.

XLVIII. THREE CHERUBS (Fig. 19)

Pen and black ink. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches (216 x 73 mm.)

London, Sir Robert Witt (No. 140)

Circa 1652-1667

Identified, not signed.

XLIX. TWO CHERUBS HOLDING A CURTAIN (Fig. 18)

Pencil. $11 \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ inches (279 x 194 mm.)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Circa 1645-1657

On the back of the sheet a faint sketch for the *Apparition of the Madonna to St. Dominic*.

Bibliography: Barcia, 235; Sánchez Cantón, 307.

L. CORONATION OF A POET

Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{11}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches (169 x 121 mm.)

Madrid, Prado

Circa 1660-1667

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 335.

LI. RECLINING NUDE WOMAN (Fig. 15)

Pen and bistre. Approximately $5\frac{9}{10} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches (150 x 140 mm.)

Madrid, Luis M. Feduchi

Circa 1648-1652

Collections: Beruete y Moret, Madrid

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 350.

LII. STUDY FOR TITLE PAGE: Terrones de Robles,

Vida y martyrio, translación y milagros de San

Euphrasio, obispo y patrón de Andújar, Granada, 1657.
Pen and bistre and wash. $6\frac{15}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ inches
(175×128 mm.)
Madrid, Prado

Santa Potenciana and San Eufrasio are the saints represented. A copy of this drawing or the engraver's preparatory sheet, drawn to scale from Cano's study, belongs to Sir Robert Witt in London. This sheet measures $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches and those dimensions correspond to the size of the plate for the title page ($7 \times 4\frac{15}{16}$ inches), whereas Cano's drawing in the Prado is an eighth of an inch wider.

Bibliography: Sánchez Cantón, 333.

LIII. TRIUMPH OF APOLLO (Fig. 12)
Pen and bistre. $11\frac{5}{8} \times 8$ inches (295×202 mm.)
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
Circa 1649

For entrance festivities of Mariana of Austria in 1649(?).

Collections: Castellanos

Bibliography: Barcia, 234; Sánchez Cantón, 336.

COPIES AND WRONG ATTRIBUTIONS (Arranged by collections)

CHANTILLY, Musée Condé

Glorification of the Holy Spirit (José Gómez Sicre, *Spanish Drawings*, New York, 1949, p. 54).

CHICAGO, Art Institute

Virgin Kneels Before the Trinity (Granadine School, late XVII century).

CÓRDOBA (Spain), Provincial Museum
Study for a Retable (follower of Cano).

FLORENCE, Uffizi

Emilio Santarelli, *Catalogo della raccolta di disegni autografi antichi e moderni alla Reale Galleria di Firenze*, Florence, 1870, Nos. 10,250-10,269; 10,271-10,276. Only No. xi of my catalogue is by Cano.

GIJÓN, Jovellanos Institute

No authentic drawings by Cano. (José Moreno Villa, *Dibujos del Instituto de Gijón*, Madrid, 1926, Nos. 232-256; Sánchez Cantón, 303, 357).

HAMBURG, Kunsthalle

By followers of Alonso Cano: *St. Anthony of Padua and the Infant Christ* (study for etching); *Gabriel* (Juan Niño de Guevara); *Cartouche with Angel*; *Baptism of a Child*; *Madonna and Sleeping Christ Child*; *St. Augustine*; *St. Dominic's Miraculous Portrait at Soriano* (copy of Diego de Obregón's print after Cano); *St. Peter Liberated*.

Spanish School: *St. Anthony of Padua Kneeling*, No. 21,115 (copy of Ribera's picture in the Academia de San Fernando); *San Gonzalo de Amante*; *Head of Christ*; *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*.

KEIR, SCOTLAND, William Stirling, Esq.

Apparition of the Madonna (two drawings); *Discovery of a Sleeping Child* (copy; for original, see Sánchez Cantón, 327); *Madonna of Mercy* (pen and bistre and wash. $9\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches, Fig. 13, copy, detail for façade of Granada Cathedral); *Madonna of the Rosary* (late copy of Bocanegra's drawing after Cano's painting in Málaga Cathedral, Sánchez Cantón, 359); *Madonna of the Pillar*; *Magdalene and St. Sebastian*; *Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist* (two drawings, both derived from Cano's retable in Santa Paula, Seville); *Retable of St. Anthony of Padua* (Sevillian School); *Retable of the Via Dolorosa*; *Retable with Two Dominicans* (Juan Ruiz); *St. Catherine of Siena*; *St. Ferdinand and Two Bishops*; *Vision of St. Anthony of Padua* (late imitation).

LONDON, British Museum

No. 1895-877: *Apparition of the Virgin* (school of Herrera Barnuevo); No. 1895-878: *Apparition of the Virgin*; No. 1910-42: *Assumption* (Bocanegra); No. 1895-876: *Assumption* (Herrera Barnuevo); *Ceiling Decoration* (Herrera Barnuevo, Mayer, 60); *Christ Arisen* (Bocanegra); *Christ with His Cross*; *Four Angels* (Italian School, XVII century); *Magdalene in Penitence* (Sánchez Cantón, 298); *Meleager and Atlantis* and *Death of Meleager* (Flemish School, XVII century, Mayer, 61); No. 1846-190: *Immaculate Conception* (Granadine, XVII century); No. 1875-2622: *Immaculate Conception* (Granadine, XVII century); *St. Anthony Heals a Man*; *Seated Saint*; *Silens and Fauns* (Flemish School, XVII century).

LONDON, Collection of Sir Robert Witt

Angel in Clouds (School of Madrid, XVII century); *Angels with Shield*; *Two Angels with Veronica*; *Artist Painting a Picture of Venus*; *Madonna of the Rosary* (follower of Pedro de Mena); *Massacre of the Innocents* (late XVI century); *Monks Carrying a Crucifix*; *Magdalene in half-length*; *Magdalene in full-length*; *Santiago Matamoros*; *St. John the Baptist* (Niño de Guevara); *Study for Title Page* (copy, see No. LII above); *Venus and Cupid*.

MADRID, Academia de San Fernando

Nos. 29-31, 31³, 31⁴, 32, 34 (*Catálogo de la sala de dibujos de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, Madrid, 1941).

MADRID, Beruete Collection (formerly)

Virgin of the Rosary (Bocanegra's copy, Sánchez Cantón, 359). See Keir.

MADRID, Biblioteca del Palacio

St. Joseph and the Infant Christ, *Immaculate Conception*, *Study for a Retable* (Sánchez Cantón, 290, 300b, 337).

MADRID, Biblioteca Nacional

All numbers except those in parentheses refer to Barcia's catalogue.

215; 216 (Sánchez Cantón, 297a); 217-218; 219 (Mayer, 58); 220 (Herrera Barnuevo); 222-227; 230 (copy; another copy in Vasconcel Collection, Barcelona); 231 (copy; *see* Sánchez Cantón, 329); 232 (Mayer, 56); 233; 236-237 (Sánchez Cantón, 302, Bocanegra); 238; 242 (*Fountain for the Plaza de Cebada*, copy, Sánchez Cantón, 347, Mayer, 57; now in the Museo Municipal, Madrid); 243 (Cano follower); 244-250; 272 (Sánchez Cantón, 316); 655 (Sánchez Cantón, 292).

MADRID, Boix Collection (formerly)

Annunciation (Escalante?, Sánchez Cantón, 308); *Apparition of the Virgin to San Francisco de Paula* (copy, XVIII century, Sánchez Cantón, 359); *Assumption* (Spanish School, XVII century, Sánchez Cantón, 318); *Assumption* (follower of Cano, Sánchez Cantón, 321); *Madonna at the Cross* (Sánchez Cantón, 360); *Trinity* (pencil copy, Sánchez Cantón, 324).

MADRID, Duque de Fernán Núñez

Portal for Festival (Sánchez Cantón, 351-352).

MADRID, Museo del Prado

Assumption; *Christ at the Column* (Sánchez Cantón, 353); *Ecce Homo*; *Inmaculate Conception* (Sánchez Cantón, 300); *Infant Christ and the Cross*; *Institution of the Rosary* (copy, Sánchez Cantón, 331; another copy in Vasconcel Collection, Barcelona); *Madonna and Child with Angels in Clouds* (Sánchez Cantón, 312; a repetition, No. 1846-195 in the British Museum, is there wrongly given to Herrera Barnuevo); *Madonna and Child* (half-length, copy, Sánchez Cantón, 313); *Man*

Lifting a Jar (Carreño, Sánchez Cantón, 387); *Nude Youth Bending*; *St. Anthony of Padua*; *St. Anthony of Padua, Vision of* (copy, Sánchez Cantón, 358); *St. Dominic Converts Heretics* (Niño de Guevara?); *St. Joseph and Infant Christ* (copy, Sánchez Cantón, 301); *Santa María de la Cabeza* (copy, Sánchez Cantón, 356); *Trumpeting Angel* (Bocanegra, Sánchez Cantón, 319); *Two Evangelists* (copy, Sánchez Cantón, 299); *Visitation* (copy, Sánchez Cantón, 357).

NEW YORK, Daniel Farr

Death of St. Joseph (Antonio Pereda).

NEW YORK, Metropolitan Museum

No. 46.57.2, *St. Sebastian* (José Gómez Sicre, *Spanish Drawings*, New York, 1949, p. 55); No. 87.12.107, *Virgin Interceding for Those in Purgatory*.

NEW YORK, Morgan Library

Apparition of the Virgin (Cano or follower; the Boix copy is now in the Vasconcel Collection, Barcelona. Lafuente Ferrari, "Dibujos de maestros andaluces," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, XIII, 1937, pp. 57-59).

PARIS, Musée du Louvre

No authentic drawings by Cano. Nos. 18 410-18 415. (Sánchez Cantón, 338, 356).

PHILADELPHIA, Academy of Fine Arts

Christ at the Column (follower of Cano).

VIENNA, Albertina Collection

Adoration of the Shepherds (Valencian School? Early XVII century).

NOTES

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

GLANVILLE DOWNEY

One of the factors which has made the study of the topography of Byzantine Constantinople a complex task is the circumstance that some of the literary texts are not available in modern editions, and are not always readily accessible for study. Thus it is not difficult for certain passages, and even authors, to escape the notice of modern scholars.

This situation is illustrated in the monumental study of the topography of the city recently published by Père Raymond Janin of the Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines,¹ in which the testimony of Constantine of Rhodes appears not to have been used, and certain material furnished by Procopius and Nikolaos Mesarites appears to have been overlooked. Since P. Janin's book seems destined for wide use, the following notes may be of interest.

1. The statue of Justinian in the Augustaeum. This is described by Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I, 2, 5-12, but this passage is not noted by P. Janin, who cites only the references to the monument in Cedrenus, Zonaras, and other late writers (pp. 78-80). The only reproduction of the mediaeval drawing of the statue which P. Janin cites is the line drawing published by A. D. Mordtmann,² which omits part of the inscription. A more accurate reproduction in the form of a photograph of the original has been published by G. Rodenwaldt in the *Archäol. Anzeiger*, 1931, cols. 331-334, from which the frontispiece of the Loeb Classical Library edition of *De aedificiis* (1940) is taken. P. Janin writes that the drawing is in the Library of the Serail. This was the case in Mordtmann's day, but in 1931, according to Rodenwaldt (*op.cit.*, col. 328, n. 3), it was in Budapest. If, since 1931, the manuscript has returned to the Serail, a note to this effect by P. Janin would have assisted the reader. The statue has been discussed by the present writer in an article, "Justinian as Achilles," *Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 68-77, to which additions were made by M. P. Charlesworth, "Pietas and Victoria: The Emperor and the Citizen," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXIII, 1943, p. 10. See further O. Wulff, "Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios," *Byz. Ztschr.*, VII, 1898, pp. 318-319. The statue is described by Constantine of Rhodes, vv. 42-51, 364-372, pp. 37, 47, ed. E. Legrand, *Revue des études grecques*, IX, 1896.

2. The Forum of Constantine and its Senate. Constantine of Rhodes (vv. 125-162, pp. 40-41, ed. Le-

grand) describes various features which are not mentioned by P. Janin in his discussion of the Forum (pp. 67-69) and of the Senate which stood on it (pp. 154-155). Constantine of Rhodes writes: "And here, there is also a bronze gate in the Senate, turned toward the north, and the wall which it bears, rising straight. Formerly this gate belonged to Artemis of the Ephesians, when the dark error of idols prevailed. It bears in relief the battle of the Giants and the Gods whose cult the Hellenes of old celebrated in their delusion, and the thunderbolts of Zeus, and his boldness, and Poseidon with his strange trident, and Apollo armed with his bow, and Herakles arrayed in the lion's skin, his quiver filled with arrows, and with his club breaking the heads of the Giants who like serpents writhe below his feet, hurling up fragments torn from rocks, struggling like snakes and roaring dreadfully and bristling and shooting fire from their eyes, so that onlookers are terrified and quake, and are smitten with tremendous fear in their hearts. By such impostures the foolish race of the Hellenes was deceived and paid base reverence to the shamelessness of these vain and godless creatures; but the most excellent and wise Constantine brought it here to be a toy for the city, a plaything for children and a laughingstock for men. And again there is the fair maiden in bronze who stands on a tall column extending her hand in the air; this is the image of Pallas, part of the cult of the Lindians, to which belonged the people who first inhabited the land of unfortunate Rhodes, reared in impiety. It shows the crest and the gorgonian monster and the snakes intertwined at the neck. Thus, thus indeed did the foolish people of olden times in vain make this idol of Pallas."³ See the commentary on the poem of Constantine of Rhodes by Th. Reinach, *Revue des études grecques*, IX (1896), pp. 86-91, and (on the statue of Athena) R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Bronze Athena at Byzantium," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVII (1947), pp. 31-33.

3. The Anemodoulion. P. Janin writes (pp. 100-101) that we know this monument from the description of it by Cedrenus, the pseudo-Codinus, and Nicetas Choniates. It is, however, also described by Constantine of Rhodes (vv. 178-201, pp. 41-42, ed. Legrand) as follows: "Let fifth place among the incomparable wonders in the unfolding of my discourse be taken by the bronze support, raised up to a great height, which quickly forms the shape of a pyramid of towering proportions, or of a well-rounded crest of a Persian tiara, which Theodosius the Great erected, a most surpassing work of sculpture, a four-legged construction, a surpassing sight, fitted together with four bronze

1. *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbaine et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1950.

2. "Esquisse topographique de Constantinople," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, XLI, 1891, p. 471 = p. 65 of his book of the same title, Lille, 1892.

3. The translation is taken from my unpublished edition of Constantine of Rhodes, which will form a part of the study of the Church of the Apostles which is being prepared at Dumbarton Oaks by Professors A. M. Friend, Jr., F. Dvornik, Paul A. Underwood, and myself.

sides and adorned everywhere with sculptured figures and with full blossoms of fruit and buds. Naked Loves stand there, entwined in the vines, laughing gently at each other and, from their place on high, mocking those below them. Other youths, kneeling, blow the winds through their brazen horns, one of them the west wind, another the south wind. High above this is a marvellous contrivance made of bronze which by means of its bronze wings is blown about in a circle and records the light breaths of the breezes which the winds blow into the city, the north wind, the south wind, the fair north wind, and bold east wind, and the heavy-blowing southwest wind."

Cedrenus, using almost the same words as Constantine, and probably deriving his material ultimately from him,⁴ says (1, p. 565, 20, Bonn ed.) that "Theodosius the Great built the four-legged construction which they call the 'Contest of the Winds,' which had the form of a pyramid and was adorned with sculptured figures. . . . [He describes the figures.] . . . Above, a bronze winged figure indicates the light breaths of the winds." The *Patria* (p. 253, 9-15, ed. Preger) speaks of the monument only as "the bronze 'Contest of the Winds'" and mentions "the four bronze works" with which it was adorned, meaning the plates which seem to have formed the entablature. No reference is made to the four columns, to the pyramidal roof, or to the weather-vane. Nicetas Choniates calls the structure "the high bronze four-sided construction" and mentions specifically that the "four-sided" portion "ended in a pointed shape like a pyramid" (*Chron.*, II, 6, p. 432, Bonn ed., and *Destruction of the Statues*, pp. 856-857, Bonn ed.). He does not mention the columns but devotes some detail to the ornamentation of the four bronze plaques.

Th. Reinach's conclusion as to the form of the monument (*op.cit.*, p. 85) suggests that his reading of the sources cited above and of Constantine's description was superficial: "La base, aussi haute qu'une grande colonne, avait la forme d'une tronc de pyramide quadrangulaire; les flancs étaient revêtus de plaques de bronze sculptées. . . ." Finding that the other literary sources speak of the monument as *tetrapleuron*, Reinach concluded that *tetraskeles* in Constantine had the same meaning ("four-footed," hence "four-sided"). It is possible that Reinach was influenced chiefly by the passage in Cedrenus, which would, without the word *tetraskeles*, give the impression that the structure was pyramidal in shape. Wulff (*Byz. Ztschr.*, VII, p. 320) and A. Heisenberg (*Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908, II, p. 124) were both misled by the somewhat unsystematic character of the description of the Tower of the Winds. Instead of attempting to determine what significance the literal and graphic meaning

of *tetraskeles* would have if applied to the Tower of the Winds, they concluded (with even less scruple than Reinach) that since Nicetas calls the Tower of the Winds *tetrapleuron*, "four-sided," and since the *Patria* speaks of the "four bronze works" with which the sides were ornamented, *tetraskeles*, as used of the Tower of the Winds, is simply another way of saying *tetrapleuron*. Actually, of course, the epithets *tetrapleuron* and *tetraskeles* were used by different writers to describe different aspects of the Tower of the Winds, and Constantine's description clarifies this problem. The Anemodoulion is also mentioned in the tenth century *Vita S. Andraeae Sali* by Nicephorus, *P. G.*, cxi, 749 A.

4. The Outer Philopation. P. Janin (p. 143) notes three different hypotheses on its location, among them that of A. M. Schneider, who placed it opposite the Blachernae (*Byzanz*, Berlin, 1936, p. 81). Neither Schneider nor Janin realized that this is, in effect, the situation indicated by Nikolaos Mesarites in his description of the Church of the Apostles. Describing the view obtained from the upper galleries of the church, Mesarites writes: "A man who walks about in the upper galleries of the church enjoys a varied pleasure as he gazes over the backs of the northern and southern seas. For one can see from there the sea, which itself lies there tranquilly and on its back bears freight-ships before a fair breeze, a sweet sight to all men and a source of rejoicing and pleasure. And neither is he frightened by the floods which the sea is wont to spew up, now here, now there, because he stands at a fitting distance from it, nor does he hear the groans of the sailors or the cries of drowning men. How much and how wide is the open country which he sees beyond the walls, which has been given its present name because men love to visit it [ἐκ τοῦ προσφιλῶς πατεῖσθαι προσωνυμούμενην] for its great beauty and pleasantness, what description can portray in words? See, the ruler has gone out for the salvation of his people and he is staying in the Emperor's Tents, which are opposite the palace and a little distance from it, and are built on this [land]; for from ancient times, it has been the custom for the Roman army to gather first on this plain, as though coming from diverse springs in lands everywhere into one meeting of the waters. . . . The place is always busy with the pursuits of the hunt, and a man who wishes to watch these has no need of anyone to point out the incidents to him, for the quarry is ever under the eye of the onlooker, whether it be a boar with savage tusks or swift hare or a leaping deer."⁵

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
DUMBARTON OAKS

4. See Reinach, *op.cit.*, pp. 69, 73; Wulff, *op.cit.*, pp. 317-318; Th. Preger in *Byz. Ztschr.*, VI, 1897, pp. 167-168.

5. Mesarites, chap. V, p. 15, ed. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908, II.

The translation is taken from my unpublished edition of this *ekphrasis* which will form a part of the study mentioned above in note 3.

THE UNCIAL GOSPEL LEAVES
ATTACHED TO THE Utrecht PSALTER

E. A. LOWE

There are not many manuscripts which can boast of complete facsimile reproduction. The Utrecht Psalter, along with the Gospel leaves attached to it, has been reproduced in its entirety and in the original size.¹ A separate publication exists of its numerous illustrations.² Many studies have been devoted to this manuscript and one entire book.³ Its chief interest lies not in its Biblical and liturgical texts (even though its Athanasian Creed once made the manuscript the subject of controversy and intense study), but in the lively and vigorous illustrations with which the Psalter abounds. The verve and artistic skill displayed in the drawings render the volume one of the most remarkable products of the entire Middle Ages.

Of such a manuscript the date and home are of the utmost importance. Though once much disputed, both have by now been satisfactorily determined. As to date, scholars are agreed that the imitation Rustic capitals in which the Psalter was written cannot be earlier than the ninth century. A date as early as the sixth century, assigned by some weighty scholars only two generations ago, seems now preposterous. But the manuscript can be dated more closely than by centuries. The more precise date is furnished by the illustrations. Their singular style also fixes the place of origin. It so happens that the identical style of illustration is to be seen in a manuscript that is definitely dated and placed. I refer to the well-known Epernay Gospels,⁴ written at Hautvillers near Reims for Ebbo, who was bishop of Reims between 816 and 835.

Now, the Psalter happens to be bound with twelve disconnected leaves of a Gospel book written in uncial characters of about the year 700.⁵ They are of interest here because of the suggestion thrown out by Ludwig Traube that they may furnish new light on the Reims origin of the Psalter.⁶

The object of the present note is to investigate whether the suggestion is supported by palaeography.

It has been generally assumed that the juxtaposition of Psalter and Gospel leaves was accidental and probably due to the seventeenth century collector, Sir Robert Cotton, who was in the habit of combining in one

volume disparate manuscripts of similar size.⁷ However, the union of the two items might, of course, have taken place in more remote times. Assuming this as fact, Traube finds that the juxtaposition is not only not completely fortuitous, but that it also points to Reims as the origin of the Psalter. For the Gospel leaves, too, have a connection of their own with Reims. Judging, then, from the company the Psalter has kept, he concluded that one has a further reason for ascribing it to Reims. The connection with Reims to which he calls attention is found in the inscription on the Gospel title-page (fol. 100) seen in Fig. 1. The Greek letters tucked away in the interstices of the scalloped border read "ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΟΗΘΗΣΩΝ ΤΩ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΙ" ("Holy Mary help the Scribe"). Traube sees here more than a mere prayer of a simple scribe. He calls attention to the well-known fact that the Reims cathedral had been dedicated to the Virgin since time immemorial, and suggests that connection with Reims was therefore the reason for the inserted prayer. Thus, as a proof of the Reims origin of the Utrecht Psalter we have not only the illustrations of the Psalter itself, but the attached Gospel leaves as well.

This conjecture, Traube saw, presented certain palaeographical difficulties. For the Biblical scholars who had examined the Gospel leaves had found them to be in script and text akin to the Codex Amiatinus (Fig. 4), which in the opinion of certain authorities was of Anglo-Saxon origin.⁸ Traube apparently admits the kinship, but firmly denies that the Amiatinus could have been written by an Anglo-Saxon. Even if written in England, it was the work not of English but of Italian scribes—a view held not only by Traube but by eminent scholars like Corssen, Thompson, and others, and not found unacceptable by Steffens.⁹ Traube points out that Serbandus, the presumed scribe of the Amiatinus, was probably an Italian, and, if he wrote in England at all, had taken on none of the characteristics of his English environment, as the orthography, the abbreviations, and the general style of the manuscript all go to prove. And this is also true of the scribe or scribes of the Utrecht Gospel leaves. They too in Traube's opinion are free of all Anglo-Saxon symptoms, and, like the Codex Amiatinus, could very well have been written by Italian or even French scribes. In fact, the implication is they may have been written in Reims itself. Traube does not say this in

1. *Latin Psalter in the University Library of Utrecht*, London, Spencer, Sawyer, Bird and Co., 1875.

2. E. T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton [1932].

3. The book is by W. de Gray Birch, *The History, Art and Palaeography of the Manuscript Styled the Utrecht Psalter*, London, 1876. A full bibliography on the manuscript will be found in G. R. Benson and D. T. Tselos, *New Light on the Origin of the Utrecht Psalter*, Chicago, 1931, pp. 9ff. (reprinted from the *ART BULLETIN*, XIII, No. 1); to be added is Dora Panofsky's interesting study entitled "The Textual Basis of the Utrecht Psalter" which also appeared in the *ART BULLETIN*, XXV (1943), pp. 50-58.

4. Facsimiles may be seen in A. Boinet, *La miniature caro-*

lingienne, Paris, 1913, pls. 66-69.

5. The leaves as now bound are foliated 93-104 and contain Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus, his Prologue, the Preface to Matthew, the capitula for Matthew, the title-page, Matthew I-III: 4, and John 1: 1-21.

6. L. Traube, "Palaeographische Anzeigen," *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1902), pp. 274ff. Reprinted in L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, III, Munich, 1920, pp. 238f.

7. Birch, *op.cit.*, p. 77. The Cotton MSS. in the British Museum furnish ample proof of this.

8. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1893, p. 38.

9. F. Steffens, *lateinische Paläographie*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1929, pl. 21.

so many words, but it is implied in these sentences: "Ebensowenig insular sind die Utrechter Fragmente. Auch sie könnten ganz gut im siebenten oder achten Jahrhundert von französischen oder italienischen Schreibern ausgeführt sein."¹⁰ Thus palaeographical considerations seemed to support the evidence of the Psalter's illustrations. So much for Traube's conjecture. What are the facts?

Since what is true of the Amiatinus is also true of the Utrecht Gospel leaves, let me say a word first about that manuscript.¹¹ This greatest of all pre-Caroline Bibles was certainly written in one of the twin Northumbrian abbeys of Wearmouth and Jarrow during the abbacy of Ceolfrid (†716)—and here let me mention in passing that the much-disputed first quire is not an addition but an integral part of the manuscript. I base this entirely on palaeographical considerations. Far from lacking any Insular symptoms as Traube states, it has certain features which immediately stamp it as Insular and un-Italian: (1) the Insular abbreviation for *per* (p with a horn on the bow) occurs several times, the abbreviation for *autem* (h with a horn on the bow) occurs in a correction; (2) the prickings are in both inner and outer margins—an unmistakable Insular feature; (3) the bifolia are ruled after folding instead of before; (4) initials are in Anglo-Saxon style—I refer to the red dots superimposed on solid black outlines, and to the form of initial Q on fol. 401, L on fol. 805, and P initials which open the Pauline epistles—all redolent of Anglo-Saxon technique; (5) misuse of s and ss in spelling. In view of

these facts, one is justified in affirming that the scribe was certainly an Anglo-Saxon and not an Italian.

What are the facts about the Utrecht Gospel leaves? The script is admittedly the same as that of the Amiatinus: there is perfect agreement in the various types and sizes of uncials used and they practically match letter for letter with those in other contemporary products of the Northumbrian school (see Figs. 1, 2, and 3).¹² And as regards Insular symptoms, I mention the following: the membranes are vellum, rough to the touch, as in most Insular manuscripts; the prickings are in both margins (and not in the outer margin alone, as is the rule in Italian and Continental schools); the lines are ruled after the bifolia are folded—all Insular symptoms. The initials N (fol. 93), M (fol. 96) and L (fol. 101) with the firm, clean outline are more in keeping with Anglo-Saxon style than Italian or Continental. Lastly, the scribe betrays his Anglo-Saxon training in allowing subscript i, to which he was accustomed in minuscule, to creep in even in an uncial text ("hominem" on fol. 95r, seen in Fig. 2). Whereas subscript i is a commonplace of Insular calligraphy, it is foreign to Italian and Continental scribes of this period (the only exception known to me in uncial is subscript i after u¹³).

If the above palaeographical observations square with fact, then the Gospel leaves throw no light whatever on the Psalter, and certainly furnish no new evidence that its origin was Reims. That is amply furnished by the illustrations.

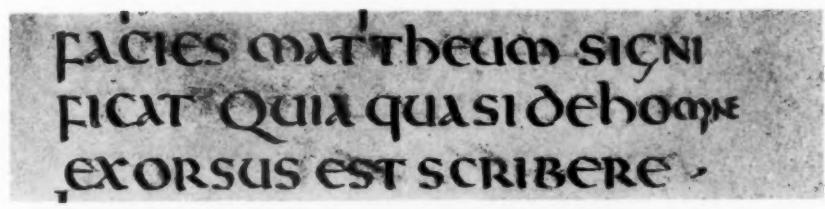
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the Stoneyhurst Gospels: C.L.A., II, Oxford, 1935, Nos. 150, 260.

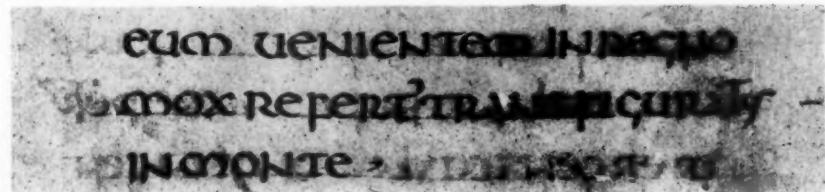
11. See E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores*, III, Oxford, 1938, No. 299.
12. The capitula type seen in Fig. 3 is used throughout in



1. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 100. Gospel title-page



2. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 95r, col. 2: text type



3. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 98v, col. 1: capitular type

GENOBIVIA EX IMI MERITO
DIGNERABILIS ALIUTORIS
QUAM CAPITI ECCLESIAE
DEDICAT ALTISSIMAS
PETRUS LANCOBARDORUM
EXTREMIS DECINIS ABBAS
DEUOTI AFFECTUS
PIGNORA MITTO MEI
MEQUE MEOSQ. OPTANS
TANTI INTERCIDIQ. PATRIS
IN CAELIS MEMOREM
SEMPER HABERE LOCUM

BOOK REVIEWS

Twelfth Century Paintings at Hardham and Clayton,
Published and edited by Frances Byng-Stamper and
Caroline Lucas, Lewes, Sussex, 1947. Introductory
essay by Clive Bell. 61 plates. £3:3:0.

This is an exemplary publication recording two of the most important cycles of Romanesque painting in England. To publish a book entirely based on the black and white photographs of these much-defaced paintings is a daring enterprise, but the result is wholly successful, thanks to extensive preparations (scaffolding, artificial light) and to the excellent work of the photographer, Helmut Gernsheim. It is particularly commendable that Hardham and Clayton were chosen for a publication of such great documentary value, not only because of their outstanding quality but of their untouched state; while they are much damaged, they have escaped the well-meaning hands of meddlesome restorers who have ruined so many of the finest mural paintings of the epoch. The artistic value of these paintings is surprisingly evident in the photographs; the bold and monumental compositions as well as the expressive, sensitive, and pure line are a vehicle for the lucid and fierce spirit of a period yearning for God. Four elevations make it possible for the reader to localize the paintings in the churches, the different scenes of the *Last Judgment* at Clayton and the more extensive iconographical scheme, including scenes from the life of Christ, at Hardham. Fourteen tracings published beside the originals help the reader to recognize the subjects in cases where the fragmentary state of the paintings might make deciphering difficult. One returns again and again with fresh delight to these masterly reproductions—as one would to the originals—and each time they yield new values, new and arresting details. The eye never tires of plunging deeper and deeper into the fascinating play of lines and of light and shade which express the great mysteries of Christian faith. This is a book which no amateur or scholar of mediaeval art and certainly no art library of any distinction can afford to be without. There is no doubt that Mr. Gernsheim would be ideal for the projected book of photographic illustrations of English mediaeval paintings to be mentioned in the review below.

ARON ANDERSSON
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E. W. TRISTRAM, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, with a catalogue compiled in collaboration with Monica Bardswell, 2 vols., New York, Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. 651; 275 pls. \$90.00.

This book is part of a corpus of English mediaeval wall painting and a sequel to Professor Tristram's book

on English wall painting of the twelfth century published in 1944. It is the first complete publication of England's mediaeval murals, a work of imposing size, and no one could be more appropriate for the task than Professor Tristram, who has devoted a lifetime of enthusiastic work to these paintings, whether it has been a question of restoring, describing, or copying them.

On the whole, the composition of the second volume corresponds to that of the previous one: an introductory survey of the development of style during the century; a discussion of the importance of mural paintings within this development and their iconographical contents, followed by a topographically arranged treatise on the paintings with descriptions and historical and critical comments; special chapters on the interrelation of the arts in the thirteenth century, the technique of the paintings and the social position of the painters, the difference between the monastic painter and the lay painter; and, finally, an iconographical index and a catalogue of the paintings with short descriptions and literary references. That the treatment of thirteenth century painting has demanded so much more space than that of the twelfth is partly due to the greater number of preserved monuments, partly to the very rich archival sources on paintings long since lost, and on the varied working conditions at the royal enterprises, especially under Henry III, that enthusiastic patron of the arts.

The most important of the preserved English thirteenth century paintings are indisputably those in Winchester Cathedral, dating from the first third of the century, with their rich and forceful design in which the Byzantine inheritance is still visible in style and technique, and the paintings in Westminster Abbey, from the middle and the latter part of the century, which give perfect expression to a mature, international Gothic style. Besides these, there are several fragmentary or less extensive paintings of exquisite quality scattered about the country, and whole cycles in a simplified, sometimes crude, but more often naïvely expressive style, representing a painting tradition independent of the leading art centers. The material is rich and full of variety but has hitherto been incompletely treated. It gives rise to several problems that may be seen from different aspects and at least partly solved through comparisons with the better preserved and better known English illuminated manuscripts of the same period. To group and thoroughly analyze the preserved material is in itself an enormous task, but Professor Tristram tries to do even more: to reconstruct what has disappeared, with the aid of archival evidence and through speculations based on existing remains, and to give a complete picture, as rich and brilliant as possible, of English thirteenth century painting. In every county Benedictine foundations and royal castles are pointed out as probable centers of art,

and a place name appended to the name of an artist is sufficient to stir the imagination of Professor Tristram creating a background for the artist in question.

It would seem natural to start a survey of English thirteenth century painting with the Winchester school, partly because it provides a natural reason for a retrospective of the development at the end of the previous century, and partly because this school forms a natural point of departure for the treatment of that conservative, specifically English thirteenth century tradition, with its Byzantine elements, that may be traced both in mural painting and in manuscript illuminations right up to the third quarter of the century, when it was definitely superseded by the Continentally influenced style of the Court school. But from a historical point of view, Professor Tristram considers the Court school the most important in the development of art in this century. With reference to known contacts between the monasteries in Winchester, Westminster, and St. Albans at the beginning of the century, and with some known names of artists in Westminster at this time (as substitutes for the missing works of art), he starts his account with the Court school. This procedure breaks the logical sequence, from the point of view of the history of style, as well as the chronological order of the material. The Winchester school, in its most limited sense, is treated after the Court school, and thereafter the preserved paintings, county by county, from south to north. The topographical principle may have some advantages but it could have been applied with more reason to the catalogue of the book (which is alphabetically arranged). From an art historical aspect, it is most awkward, since it leads to repetitions and means that related paintings are treated in widely separate places. The fact that no geographically limited local schools can be observed in English thirteenth century painting makes the method even more inexplicable.

The composition of the book makes the presentation static, stagnant, one might say, and the course of development in English thirteenth century painting does not stand out clearly enough. There is almost nothing here of the dramatic development of style in European thirteenth century art, so full of dynamic events and intriguingly unfinished trails, that is particularly interesting and suggestive in English art where Continental influences and native traditions intermingle in a fascinating pattern. Professor Tristram's failure to do justice to his material in this respect results from his conception of the development of English painting as a purely indigenous phenomenon. Viewed as an integral part of European developments, English mediæval art receives its proper explanation, its character stands out, rich and fascinating; seen as an isolated occurrence, it remains an equation with too many unknowns. The introductory account of the different factors that helped to bring about the simplified, Gothic style of the Court school in the middle of the century, in my opinion also produces a false idea of the course of events. The thesis that the large size of the walls

to be painted resulted in the simplification of design is amateurish. That the linear style in English thirteenth century wall painting must be due to the influence of pre-Conquest art is a less superficial but equally unfounded theory. Nor is the general development of style to be explained as merely a "trend towards naturalism." That great simplification of style in painting which meant giving up the Byzantine inheritance expressed itself in strong, summary contours and large, unbroken color planes, characteristics suggested by the technique of stained glass, which was one of the leading branches of twelfth and thirteenth century art. During the earlier part of the thirteenth century, the development in sculpture rapidly proceeds towards more clearly distributed volumes and unbroken surfaces in broadly cut material. In stained glass and sculpture, as well as in architecture, France is the leading country; the core of the international Gothic style is there, and it is from France that England, in the middle of the century and through the Court school, receives decisive impulses for a continued development.

The French influence in the Westminster school is only briefly mentioned by Professor Tristram; its extent and importance is not measured or defined. On general historical grounds, the Westminster school is supposed to have been founded by monks from Winchester and St. Albans. In Professor Tristram's account, the French influence, particularly evident in the middle of the century, is reduced to almost nothing with the aid of the English names of artists preserved in the records. The contrasts between native and foreign elements in the preserved monuments are not observed, the uneven pace of development is not commented upon, the contours of the different schools are not kept apart, and the total picture becomes blurred and uninteresting. All these deficiencies betray a lack of art historical method and analysis of style (the characterization of the works of art is for the most part very scanty and conventional), as well as an insufficient awareness of Continental developments. Too often—and this is a pervading trait of the book—the presentation builds on general speculations around historical facts and archival evidence; the works of art are not allowed sufficiently to speak for themselves. And yet, be it noted, neither the date nor the author of any of the preserved monuments can be ascertained through the records alone.

First of all, it should be remembered that the name of an artist does not give any positive proof of his origin. The sculptor John of St. Albans, referred to in the records on one occasion as *Johanni de Flandria, sculptori regis, commoranti apud Sanctum Albanum*, is an example of this. Secondly, it is true of English artists, as of their possibly foreign colleagues Peter of Spain and William Florentin, that their nationality is no safe clue to their style; the fashionable French art that was current in a European sense may very well have had true adepts amongst them, particularly as their royal patron was an ardent admirer of Saint Louis and of the art that flourished in his kingdom.

The most important preserved works of the West-

minster school are the paintings of the *Incredulity of Thomas* and of St. Christopher in the south transept of the Abbey, of St. Faith in St. Faith's Chapel, and the so-called Westminster Panel. Professor Tristram compares them to the illustrations in the Douce *Apocalypse*, known to have been executed before 1272, and dates them all about 1270, boldly attributing them to different masters known to have existed in Westminster at that time. These attributions are mere guesswork, and upon closer scrutiny the paintings in question reveal, in fact, certain differences in style which allow a shifting of their respective dates. The paintings in the south transept, monumental in scale and bold in execution, with their broad, sweeping treatment of drapery, their closed contours and passionately expressive faces, are excellent examples of the mature, international Gothic style in its first phase, and may well be contemporary with the part of the building that they adorn, i.e., their date may still fall within the 1250's, whereas the figure of St. Faith, eminently characteristic in her column-like stature, the ornate, twisted, somewhat dry handling of drapery, and her conventionalized face stiffly perched on an exceptionally broad neck, shows a different and later style, hardly possible before the last third of the century. The part of the painting to the left, with the figure of a donor, cuts across a painted chevron border obviously belonging to an earlier scheme of decoration.

The Westminster Panel and the illustrations in the Douce *Apocalypse* bear a strong resemblance, already noted by Millar, but the miniatures show a slightly more conventionalized design, less free and sensitive, less rich and individual; the figures in the panel show both a greater unity in their rhythmic composition and a greater purity of line. It seems to me that they should thus be given priority, that their restraint in decorative drapery treatment shows that they belong to the very earliest phase of the mature Gothic style. Professor Tristram expounds on them at length, partly in order to prove that the work is English (and not, as others have claimed, imported from France) and partly to explain the original use of the panel. No definite proof can be brought forward as to whether the panel was executed in London or in Paris and, once French influence in the delineation of the figures has been accepted, the question may seem to be of minor importance. But the evidence of the Douce *Apocalypse* and of the related paintings in the south transept of Westminster Abbey seems to me to favor an English origin. With regard to the purpose of the Westminster Panel, Professor Tristram accepts the suggestion of W. Burges that it may have served as one of the sides of a cover over the shrine of Edward the Confessor. On this vague supposition, which is supported neither by the shape of the panel nor by its varied subject-matter, the author builds his theory, trying to prove it with fanciful arguments. If the panel had been part of a cover or had served as a retable, the architectural structure would no doubt have been more emphasized and the upper edge would have shown a rich play of delicate architectural

forms, turrets, gables, and finials, according to a well-known, inherent principle of Gothic art, whether in architecture or in the smallest object of applied art. The horizontal upper edging is explicable only by the practical use of the panel as the front covering of a communion table, and its structure, with a uniform frame all around, is appropriate to a mediaeval frontal. It has the size of a frontal, and its iconographic program, with *Christ in Majesty* in the center, is usual in frontals of this date, even if in this instance Christ is not surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, as in most cases, but by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist with palm fronds in their hands. This is a beautiful grouping, full of significance if we keep in mind that the Virgin and St. John flanking the Cross would have been depicted, according to custom, in the corresponding places on the retable of the altar. Professor Tristram is of the opinion that the panel, because of its length, could only have served as the frontal of the high altar of the Abbey, but that its adornment with "false cameos, false jewels, and imitation enamels" is not sufficiently distinguished and costly for such a place which, in the Middle Ages, was as a rule adorned with precious metals and jewels. The artistic quality of the work, however, is in no way diminished by the lack of precious materials: the cameo copies are of exquisite workmanship. The jewels are missing today with the exception of two small ones (a "sapphire" and an "amethyst"—I am unable to judge their true species), and the imitation enamels, painted slips of parchment under glass covers, give far more subtle effects of color, harmonizing with the colors in the framed medallions, than could have been achieved with the hard brilliance of real enamel. The richness and sensitivity of the color combinations in the panel are worthy of the greatest admiration: the figures in red and bluish green on a gold background; the same colors painted on parchment in finely balanced enamel patterns shimmering through glass in the ornamental frames; and, finally, as a background to the medallions, the dark blue glass of a rich and saturated hue, tempered by a gold vine scroll of elegant design. In the miniature architectural canopies above the single figures, the window forms are filled with red and green glass, somber, shimmering colors with remnants of painted tracery in gold. The work is characterized as much by its delicacy of execution as by a commendable restraint in the choice of material. The slender columns of the canopies might be quoted as an additional argument for the original use of the panel as a frontal: their bracket-like bases are necessitated by the frame of the panel, but their shape and their relation to the painted figures can be understood only if the panel was placed lower than eye-level, with its lower edge resting on the floor. Placed at a higher level, the bases exercise a disturbing influence upon the harmony of the composition.

How then can we explain the fact that Henry III, that generous spender, did not provide the high altar of the church that was his creation and his greatest interest with the costly adornments which would have been

appropriate according to the custom of the time? The answer may be as follows: perhaps the panel was only a provisional decoration for the high altar, planned and executed in the 1250's (this part of the Abbey was ready for use in 1253) when, because of his foreign adventures, the king's economic situation had become so desperate that he was even forced to sell his plate in order to meet the demands of his creditors. The panel would have been encased in the altar and when, later on, a more costly adornment could be afforded, it might have been superimposed on the earlier frontal. We know, in fact, from the records that the king ordered an embroidered frontal, set with gems, enamels, and cameos (at the then enormous cost of £280), to be used at the high altar on the occasion of the consecration of the church in 1269. The very fact that this frontal was a hanging gives support to the supposition that there already existed an earlier, permanently fixed frontal in the form of a panel.

If the panel did not adorn the high altar, there are good grounds for the suggestion, put forward by Rokewoode, that it belonged to another of Henry's gifts to the Abbey, viz., a reredos and a frontal for the altar of the Lady Chapel, for which Peter of Spain received the sum of £80 in 1258.

The discussion of the paintings in Winchester gives the author the opportunity to make interesting comparisons with some of the most important English thirteenth century illuminated manuscripts, and one can only regret that the investigation was not more exhaustive. A full analysis of artistic production in the two conservative centers, Winchester and St. Albans, would have been desirable, and an investigation into the influence of the two schools, based on preserved murals, would have been extremely interesting, as a stronger emphasis on the contrast with the new currents in Westminster would have added life to the picture.

In the running text, the treatment of single paintings is complete, while several churches with less extensive pictorial remains are left out of the catalogue and there are no literary references to these churches. The catalogue descriptions are mostly very short, especially with regard to color and the state of preservation. There are no references to the illustrations in the text, and they must therefore be looked up in the catalogue every time, a tiresome procedure because of the unwieldy size of the book.

The dating of the paintings seems to be acceptable for the most part, but in some cases a query would be in order. As far as I can see, there are no grounds for dating the Chichester Roundel as early as ca. 1230-40 and Professor Tristram gives no reason for it. The generally accepted date of this painting is ca. 1260. The painting of St. Christopher in Little Hampden, called "the earliest extant representation of the Saint in English wall-painting," is dated ca. 1240, but the treatment of drapery is in keeping with the paintings on the Newport Chest, which has been dated ca. 1270. The extensive series of paintings in Black Bourton, of great interest since they show how influences from the

Gothic style of the Court school are merged into the tradition of a local school, is dated ca. 1250-75, but the last quarter of the century would seem more appropriate. According to Professor Tristram, the nearest approach to these paintings in miniatures is to be found in a Psalter (Brit. Mus. Addit. ms 38116) executed soon after 1280.

If Professor Tristram seems little inclined towards questions of stylistic criticism, he takes so much the more interest in the information yielded by the records of the time. The charm of his book lies in its wealth of notes, contemporary with the paintings, and it is doubtful whether the records have ever before been so fully exploited in relation to a special field of English mediæval art. Helped by the public records, Professor Tristram visualizes the colorful splendor of the epoch with as keen an interest as that with which he has recovered all the extant pictorial remains. No detail is omitted. The paintings are not seen as isolated works of art but as important evidence in the history of English civilization, and our understanding of thirteenth century England is greatly enriched. We come to know the artists of the epoch and follow them on their trips to different assignments in churches and royal palaces. That exterior plastering and limewashing was customary in English church buildings of the thirteenth century is little known today, and the light and colorful effect of the sumptuous furnishings of Westminster Abbey is more easily comprehended when we know that the interior of the church was whitewashed and "masonried" in red. The chapter on Westminster Palace gives a most vivid account of its past glory. The reader becomes acquainted with the extensive schemes of figure painting as well as with the simpler decoration through "quarrying," "marbling," or wainscoting, the latter generally painted green and "scintillated" with gold. The records of the subjects painted on the timber "windows" of the palace are as interesting as the information that all the royal rooms had isolated figure paintings executed on panels; and we are given a sympathetic glimpse of aesthetic "good sense" in an order of the year 1237 that the frieze with representations of birds, lions, and other beasts then being painted beneath the "great history" in the Painted Chamber of the palace should be abandoned at once, and the space painted green "in the manner of a curtain," so that the effect of the "history" would not be impaired. The records also throw interesting light on the use and occurrence of portable altars like the Newport Chest, and the description of the paintings in Little Missenden gives occasion for an attractive interpretation of some hideous caricatures as inspired by theater masks, used in the contemporary miracle plays.

The chapters on the interrelation of the arts suggest some marginal notes. There is, *inter alia*, the report of a glazier working in Westminster Abbey in the middle of the fourteenth century, partly occupied with stained glass but also in painting a certain window "to counterfeit glass." This recalls the recently discovered fourteenth century wall paintings in the triforium of the Marien-Kirche in Lübeck—painted "blind" windows

in the manner of stained glass closely related in style to some stained glass preserved in Gotland. The study of the interrelationship of painting and sculpture in thirteenth century England is made difficult because of the almost complete destruction of English wood sculpture of the period, but a substitute for what has disappeared may be found in the better preserved Norwegian wood carvings. The fragmentary but beautifully painted *Crucifixion* in Horsham St. Faith's Priory has its counterpart in the wooden Calvary group from Balke in the Oslo Museum. The painted tapestry-like hangings in English churches (as at Ely for instance) resemble to a surprising degree certain mediaeval textiles preserved in Swedish churches, characteristic in the powerful design of the appliquéd work.

Since the beginning of this century, Professor Tristram has performed invaluable service by copying the mediaeval wall paintings of England very skillfully and accurately, in a manner worthy of the highest praise. These copies (some of them of paintings which, according to the author, have since deteriorated or perished completely), preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum or still in the possession of the artist, are carefully recorded in the catalogue, and they form the major part of the illustrations of the book. Of the 249 plates of mural paintings, 226 are made from Professor Tristram's drawings and not from photographs of the originals. This is to be regretted because, however good the copy of a work of art, it lacks the documentary value of a photograph of the original, and that immediate touch of the work of art communicated by well photographed details is missing.

Professor Tristram holds out the prospect of a final volume in the series which will illustrate English mediaeval painting from the twelfth to the fifteenth century with photographic reproductions only. Such a complementary volume is absolutely necessary to give this work its full value as a record of English mediaeval painting. The two volumes hitherto published in the series give Professor Tristram's opinions on English mediaeval wall painting both in the text and in the illustrations; they command respect and admiration, and they will form a valuable basis for continued research in an important field of English mediaeval art, as yet too little explored. The volume on the fourteenth century is eagerly awaited.

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HUGH MORRISON, *Early American Architecture*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. xiv + 619; 484 figs. \$12.50.

In this book Hugh Morrison has digested and embodied pretty much everything known about architecture in the present area of the United States down to the time of the Revolution, and sometimes a little beyond. There are chapters on Florida and the Spanish

Southwest, missions and ranchhouses of Alta California, and French Colonial architecture of the Mississippi Valley. There are sections on the first primitive shelters, on log cabins, on churches, early colleges and public buildings, on forts, on mills, and on building methods and materials, besides the main discussion of domestic buildings. There are useful maps and many well-chosen illustrations derived from a great variety of sources.

To write the several chapters the author has leaned heavily on previous discussions, duly listed at the end of each as "Reading Suggestions." Few, if any, crucial contributions have been missed; even the most recent, such as Charles Scarlett's new studies of Whitehall, Maryland, are taken into account. Morrison's general acknowledgments to published writings make a well-chosen roll of honor of scholarship in the field during the past generation: "John Mead Howells on New Hampshire; Martin Shaw Briggs on Massachusetts and East Anglia; John Frederick Kelly on Connecticut; Harold J. Shurtleff and Samuel Eliot Morison on the log cabin and other special fields; Helen Reynolds and Rosalie Fellows Bailey on the Dutch Colonial; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker on the middle colonies; Henry Chandlee Forman on Maryland and the South; Samuel Gaillard Stoney and Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel on South Carolina; Carl Bridenbaugh on the cities of the eastern seaboard and on the architect, Peter Harrison; Charles Peterson and Samuel Wilson on the architecture of the Mississippi Valley; George Kubler on New Mexico; and Rexford Newcomb and John A. Berger on California and the Southwest."

Among others he names especially are Talbot Hamlin (Hamlin's chief study, of the Greek Revival, falls outside the scope of Morrison's book), and Thomas Tileston Waterman, the conclusions of whose *Dwellings of Colonial America* he generally adopts. There are footnote references to numerous critical discussions of individual buildings. He has covered the relevant literature very well, and reviewed independently many early documentary allusions, which are aptly quoted.

One may ask how far Morrison has himself made new points. They are relatively few, but they do exist. Perhaps the most original are those relating to New England public and collegiate buildings. Little more was possible. The fact is that study of the subject of the whole book has now approached exhaustiveness.

The volume is thus primarily one of synthesis, and its six hundred pages and five hundred illustrations make it a very complete synthesis indeed. There is no doubt that it is the best, and indeed the only, comprehensive treatment of the whole subject. It will be a most useful guide to general reference in the field.

In dealing with periodization and its terminology, the author states: "Quite arbitrarily we shall . . . use the term 'Colonial' to apply to those styles that flourished in the eastern colonies in the seventeenth century, and the word 'Georgian' for the style that flourished in the eighteenth century in the English colonies of the Atlantic seaboard." In a chart he follows these by "The Federal Period," 1780-1820, and "The Ro-

mantic Period," 1820-1860. There is indeed much that is arbitrary in this.

In the chapter "The Emergence of Georgian" are included considerable independent sections on Renaissance architecture and on the Renaissance in England, as such. They cannot, of course, be other than superficial, and we question whether it might not have been better to assume some knowledge of these subjects on the part of the reader.

Morrison's final chapter, "Towards a National Style," which speaks of the two later phases, cannot escape being very fragmentary and disproportionate. He might have been wiser to reserve any discussion of them for another volume covering the whole epoch since the Revolution, a book for which his excellent *Louis Sullivan* has led us to look to him.

FISKE KIMBALL
Philadelphia Museum of Art

JEAN LIPMAN, *American Folk Art in Wood, Metal, and Stone*, New York, Pantheon, 1948. Pp. 193; 185 illus. \$7.50.

The rediscovery of American folk art during the past twenty years has brought to light the objects illustrated and described in the present book. With its plentiful illustrations (including four in color), the volume is the most ambitious of its kind in the field of American primitive or folk art, at the time of publication. Although the book contains information on a wide range of sculpture in wood, metal, and stone produced by craftsmen, it is not encyclopedic in scope, for it treats no one subject exhaustively. This field is not yet sufficiently explored for definitive scholarly publication. However, the contents of the book provide a foundation for further research. Some future writer will, it is hoped, be able to supplement Mrs. Lipman's work with a more precise dating of the objects and of the collateral illustrations. It should be comparatively easy to date such items as the trade card of Levi L. Cushing, ship carver of Boston, and the "Early Advertisement of William Demuth & Co." for if city directories do not tell us when these firms were located at the specific street addresses given, then perhaps the age of the paper and the typographic style would yield enough evidence to date these two pieces individually within a decade.

If this book may be called the first major publication of American folk art, it should not be forgotten that Mrs. Lipman has previously published a book on American primitive painting. Folk art, or art in the round according to the title, embraces a variety of subjects. Separate chapters are given to ships' figureheads and ornaments, weathervanes, cigar-store figures and other trade signs, circus and carrousel carvings, toys, decoys, sculpture for house and garden, and portraits. Although equally meritorious objects may still be hidden in obscurity, Mrs. Lipman has illustrated her book with

the best of the known examples in these many classifications. In stature and solidity the ships' figureheads bulk the largest. The author wisely introduces two photographs of ships' figureheads *in situ* to show their proper location and the odd angle to which the human figure had to be adapted. Unfortunately, museums and private collectors have too often made the mistake of exhibiting such figures in a vertical rather than in a slightly downward-facing position. While the folk artist or craftsman is generally assumed to be anonymous, eight of the twenty-four ship carvings illustrated in this book are the work of known individuals. This suggests that a more careful scrutiny of all ship carvings might enable us to assign many hitherto anonymous carvings to known masters. The subjects for the figureheads illustrated range from the dignified and stylized American eagle through attempted portraits of Andrew Jackson and General Peter B. Porter to ridiculous figures such as the somnambulistic "Columbia" and the child-like "Lady [sic!] with a Rose." Varying degrees of skill may be observed, from the crude carving of "Columbia" to the sophisticated "Eunice Adams" stern-board, carved in high relief.

The weathervanes, as well as the early tombstone portraits, appear to be less highly skilled productions. However, if the weathervanes are judged solely by their silhouettes, then such specimens as the "Pheasant" and the "Swordfish" are excellent in design. Some of them are of surprisingly recent origin; the "Liberty" vane, for example, is dated by Mrs. Lipman "after 1886," for it is a primitive translation of "The Statue of Liberty." Another instance of recent date is the "Indian Archer" weathervane, which is actually dated 1898. This figure appears to be the work of a child, although the author does not state this. Since the makers of so many items are unknown, it is rather difficult to determine whether they represent the serious effort of a skilled craftsman or whether they are the product of a no less serious but childish imagination.

The cigar-store Indian has been the subject of previous publications, including Kate Sanborn's "Hunting Indians in a Taxicab" and what Mrs. Lipman calls "an authoritative work" by J. L. Morrison, "The Passing of the Wooden Indian," published in *Scribner's Magazine* (October 1928). Dr. Frank Weitenkampf, formerly Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library, is also cited as a worthy historian of this tribe. The collecting of "Indians" has been a most active enterprise; according to Mrs. Lipman, Dr. Pendergast of Terre Haute owned, a few years ago, two hundred and forty-three specimens. He finally allowed one hundred examples to go back into the collecting trade.

Among the various types of trade signs illustrated by the author are insignia for railroad engines, a boot-maker's sign, volunteer firemen as advertisements for their organizations, and numerous fire-marks issued by fire insurance companies to premium-paying customers. The jail sign made for the Kent County Jail, East Greenwich, Rhode Island, suggests a relationship to

circus art, a catch-all for much otherwise unidentified figure carving.

Circus and carrousel wood carvings fill a slim section of the book. Much work needs to be done in this field, where there is a tremendous quantity of printed posters and handbills to be studied for further enlightenment. Would that the author had used some of these to illustrate her text, for the chapter on the circus is perhaps the weakest section of the book. Toys and decoys have a good deal in common, even though the latter are far more interesting from the point of view of design. The toys show an extremely primitive character, as if the children themselves had made them. This may well have been true, since documentation is conspicuously lacking here.

"Sculpture for House and Garden," another chapter heading, is somewhat puzzling for, in reproduction at least, many of the objects look like toys; their size is generally small, varying from less than three feet to one exceptionally large figure measuring six feet, eight inches. This tall statue adorned the estate of "Lord" Timothy Dexter at Newburyport, Massachusetts, and is perhaps the only one of a large number to have survived to the present day. Mrs. Lipman attributes them to Joseph Wilson. She then illustrates the house by using a very poor wood engraving of the "Barber and Howe" type. A much better source would have been the anonymous large folio lithograph of the Dexter house which shows the statues in some detail.

The chapter on portraits is of great interest for its many illustrations of tombstone effigies. These plates would have been still more valuable had they not been cropped to show the portrait only, omitting the rest of the tombstone. However, we are grateful for this section, since it is the best historical documentation we have in the realm of primitive or folk art. The other portraits illustrated here are less convincing; we might well ask, for instance, whether the primitive figure of a preacher is actually meant to represent the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher. This reviewer, knowing something about Beecher portraits, suspects that there is no historic relationship between the two. Does the figure captioned "Seated Woman" represent a particular sitter? It appears more closely related to the objects classified by Mrs. Lipman as toys.

Students of American art are indebted to Mrs. Lipman for bringing together a wealth of new material in a little-known field, even if her presentation does not follow the strictest scholarly form. The author has appended a useful classified bibliography at the end of the book, an especially valuable feature since many of the publications cited are obscure and otherwise unlisted. Unfortunately, there is no index.

MARY BARTLETT COWDREY
Smith College Museum of Art

ERWIN O. CHRISTENSEN, *The Index of American Design*, New York, Macmillan, and Washington,

D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1950. Pp. 229; 378 illus. \$15.00.

This book should have a wide audience. The Federal Art Project, which sponsored the Index of American Design, enlisted the support of artists, art historians, sociologists, and the owners of the objects reproduced—museums, private collectors, and dealers. The project could not have flourished without the cooperation of these diversified groups. That there is still much to be learned, and much research to be done, in the field of American folk art and artifacts is obvious. This volume, produced as a "popular" picture book, represents a useful first survey of the subject as a whole; unfortunately, its weaknesses are equally obvious. Had the book contained the extra pages and the extra illustrations necessary to serious coverage of the subject, it would probably have been much too expensive for wide popular sale. Its value, nevertheless, lies in the illustrations (including 117 "in full, rich color," to quote the standard publishers' phrase), which are tied together by mildly interesting but utterly undistinguished textual matter. Aside from them, the most valuable part of the book is Holger Cahill's Introduction; it provides, in eight and a half pages, a brief but excellent account of the history of the Index project.

The Index of American Design came into being during December 1935 as a part of the larger program of the Federal Art Project. Only a sociological historian could hope to present the whole picture of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the many rapid changes of name and form through which the varied cultural projects passed during the Depression. This reviewer once worked for the ERA, under the WPA, and, in retrospect, still finds the genealogy of FDR's agencies almost as baffling as reported in Mr. Cahill's high-speed historical account. One of the good features of the Cahill sketch is his identification of the people involved in the project: the first coordinator of the Index was Ruth Reeves. She was succeeded by C. Adolph Glassgold and later, in 1940, by Benjamin Knotts. Although the government had been employing artists since 1933, no proper field of activity had been found for the commercial artist until the Index was established for the purpose of making facsimile drawings of textiles and various objects of wood, metal, silver, and glass. The artist-draughtsmen were soon copying the objects so faithfully that their renderings became more realistic than photographs. As Mr. Cahill points out, the artists felt at first that this technique deprived them of free creative expression. But, he continues, they "finally discovered that documentary art may become a free creative activity even within the severe discipline and the limitations [imposed]." He further states that "the best drawings, while maintaining complete fidelity to the object, have the individuality which characterizes works of art." He then compares them to such *trompe-l'oeil* painters as William Harnett.

The Second World War brought the Index project to an end before it had been completed in any of the

thirty-five states covered by the program. Mr. Cahill points out that it was in any case the most complete of its kind ever attempted. The cumulative results appear to show the development in America of the earlier European folk traditions, and he further suggests that "folk memory, which is amazingly tenacious, is a storehouse of the technical and symbolic innovations of the past." As a matter of statistics, the program produced 15,000 facsimile drawings in color and 5,000 photographs of popular American artifacts of the past. The collection, after being temporarily housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is now permanently located at the National Gallery of Art in Washington—a strange choice indeed, since the National Gallery has no interest in collecting, or even exhibiting, popular art. This government-owned material might better have been placed in the Library of Congress, where it would be more accessible to the public; as facsimiles, these drawings are in essence reproductions and are thus more appropriate to a library than to a museum.

Considering the fact that the book is basically the work of many facsimile artists, it would have been only proper to give the individual artists credit for their renderings in each caption. At the very least, the list of artists might have been placed at the front of the book instead of at the end. The artists are apparently of no account, for their names are not even included in the index. Another oversight is the omission of ownership credit lines from the captions. Such information is included along with the artists' names in the "List of Illustrations" at the end of the book. Ownership, too, is not indexed. The index, in fact, is practically useless, since it covers neither Mr. Christensen's Preface nor Mr. Cahill's Introduction. If the publishers thought that the space and paper necessary for a proper index could be sacrificed in the production of a popular book, why did they include an eight and a half page "Subject List" of the entire Index collection? This list is highly impractical, for the publishers have not bothered to indicate the subjects reproduced in this book. A laborious comparison of the subject list and the index reveals the fact that typographically there is a good deal of duplication. To drop the standard apparatus of the so-called scholarly book for the sake of an anti-traditional and "popular" presentation of the material is hardly a wise procedure, especially when the result turns out to be faulty in a mechanical sense. The bibliography, which is fairly extensive, is crowded into two and a half pages; arranged alphabetically by writer, and with entries grouped together in paragraph form, it is extremely difficult to use. It might have had some value if it had been included in the index, but such is not the case. In order to use the bibliography, the reader has to know the author of the book or article he wants to find. Should he wish information by subject, he must allow himself an hour or two to search the closely set pages title by title.

The illustrations, which are the major feature of the book, are reproductions of reproductions. One wonders

why such a financial investment was made by the publishers for so limited a purpose. The Index of American Design as a project is now a dead issue, but the objects themselves are still available, both in public and private collections; it would have been far more desirable to place the products of the Index within the broader framework of a study of the original material as a whole. This is not to criticize the value of the Index drawings, but merely to ask why the National Gallery decided to back such an ambitious publishing venture based on second-hand material only?

Future historians may wish some information on Mr. Christensen and Mr. Cahill. Neither name appears to be identified within the book. But from the jacket we learn that Mr. Christensen is Curator of the Index of American Design at the National Gallery of Art and that Mr. Cahill, an acknowledged expert on American folk art, was formerly National Director of the Federal Art Project.

MARY BARTLETT COWDREY
Smith College Museum of Art

ALFRED H. BARR, JR., *Matisse, His Art and His Public*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1951.
Pp. 592; 275 pls. \$12.50.

As a rule the Museum of Modern Art publications on the great modern European masters are glorified catalogues of retrospective exhibitions. This was the case with Mr. Barr's own volume on *Picasso: Forty Years of His Art* (1939) and with Henry R. Hope's *Georges Braque* (1949). Even Mr. Barr's second Picasso volume, *Fifty Years of His Art* (1946), cannot be classed as a comprehensive study of the artist: though somewhat wider in scope as well as in time than the first, it still retains the stamp of its original conception as a catalogue. The narrative jumps abruptly from picture to picture, as though the reader were being conducted by an expert guide around the exhibition and had to make do with whatever happened to get hung on the walls. Key pictures that could not be "exhibited," so to speak, had to be dismissed with a nod of acknowledgment.

Now this Matisse volume also was originally, according to Mr. Barr's preface, "undertaken with the modest intention of revising and bringing up to date the catalogue of the Matisse exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1931"; but in the interval it has fortunately grown into a full-length portrait of the artist, and remains the most ambitious publication that this ambitious body has ever undertaken. Matisse's own personality does not rise vividly from its pages. This is partly because the aim of the book, as its title implies, was never to disclose the artist's private life, and partly because Matisse has never been a picturesque bohemian like Modigliani or Utrillo but, in common with most members of his profession, quite a normal human being with straightforward pleasures

and habits. (Earlier attempts, by Raymond Escholier and others, to turn him into a colorful genius have proved unrewarding.) On the other hand, the account given of his art and his public could hardly be more substantial. Hundreds of illustrations, many unpublished or little known,¹ follow the upward and downward curves of Matisse's work as painter, sculptor, draughtsman, and lithographer from his first academic studies (1890) to his crowning achievement, the Vence Chapel (consecrated in June 1951). Those high-water marks in his life's work which have been more or less locked away from the world's prying eyes in Moscow and Merion are suitably treated at greater length than other paintings less significant but more easily accessible. It would be fruitless to attempt to enumerate all the rectifications in chronology, all the new information about Matisse's movements to and from the Mediterranean, all the small points about early exhibitions and collectors, which Mr. Barr by patience and hard work has woven into his text. He has had the support and cooperation of Matisse's family, of the artist himself (who evidently was bewildered at being asked so many ridiculous questions), and of hundreds of stray correspondents in two continents, each of whom has contributed his senseless piece to the sensible jigsaw puzzle.

It is characteristic of the best recent American writing on modern art that it hesitates to go beyond documentation. This is a reaction against the distressing situation in Europe where the wildest statements, based on no historical evidence, are allowed to go unchallenged, because, in Europe, modern art is not normally treated as an academic study and everyone claims the right to give vent to his personal feelings.² This American puritanism is unquestionably impressive. All the same, a European critic cannot resist a complaint that his colleagues across the Atlantic do not permit themselves, as a relief from research and diligence, an occasional critical flourish. There is in the book under review, which is not after all a catalogue, very little stylistic analysis (compared to the amount of space devoted to purely descriptive writing), which accounts for a certain heaviness, and even monotony. For example, Mr. Barr is very fond of listing the frequent occasions on which Matisse introduces his own pictures and sculpture into later pictures. We have only to study the reproductions to become aware of this; besides, in itself the fact is not significant unless it helps to establish chronology. But Matisse's intentions in doing so, which are no doubt extremely interesting, are not discussed. In the second place, Mr. Barr is care-

ful to avoid judgments of value. He may be wise to tell the distinguished story soberly and factually up to the first war; it would be invidious indeed to bestow blame as well as praise on the heroic liberation of both color and form that Matisse undertook between 1903 and 1917. But, except in one short passage (p. 208) in which he criticizes, guardedly, Matisse's work between 1920 and 1925, there is no evidence that Mr. Barr is willing to detect a decline in Matisse's powers in middle life. It seems to us now—another generation may come to argue quite differently—that Matisse's work since 1920, until quite recently, has lacked the imaginative intensity of his earlier productions, and it would have added to the (already considerable) value of this book to have analyzed why this was so, or why it seemed so to us.

So much that was written about Matisse between the wars—hence the bulk of the literature on the subject—was vitiated, so we believe, by overestimation of his powers during this period. His early work, or what was then remembered of it, was interpreted, except by the best writers,³ as a series of more or less successful experiments leading up to the serenity he reached after the First World War. If we open any of the early popular books on Matisse we find a preponderance of illustrations⁴ of graceful young women reclining on *chaises longues*, with behind them gardens that we can easily imagine as settings for a Colette novel. The girls, the flowers, the fruit are in the prime of life; the weather is invariably perfect; the armchairs are comfortable and in the best of taste. Nothing needs mending. And just as the subject-matter gives no hint of the possibility of any disagreeable turn of events, no threat of a change in the weather, no suggestion that the girls may grow old or be brutalized by husbands—so in style, in the play of arabesques, in the highly skillful juxtapositions of tone and tint, these compositions of Matisse, however audacious they may once have seemed to a public that had not made itself fully conversant with the modern idiom, are tame, static, pretty, lacking both the tension and the savagery that transformed his *fauve* canvases into memorable works of art.

It is because we live in a restless time that we find restfulness (on the pedestrian level of good living) distasteful; only serenity when raised to the level of monumentality, like Piero's, can still satisfy us. But even making allowances for this prejudice, the period we have been discussing does appear like a trough in Matisse's life, from which he did not emerge until, in old age, he recovered some of his youthful spirit, in the brilliant figure compositions and book illustrations of the late thirties and forties. This lapse has been as-

1. It is strange that such very important pictures as *Luxe, Calme et Volupté* (1904-5) and *Conversation* (1909) should have passed completely out of the literature until Mr. Barr called our attention to them, and even stranger that Matisse's sculpture, exhibited in 1950 at the *Maison de la Pensée Française*, should have come as a revelation to a supposedly informed public. So little of it was known then that several bronzes were wrongly dated in the catalogue, and even now doubts still exist about the circumstances of the execution of some important pieces.

2. An exception to this is Georges Duthuit's imaginative book on the *Fauves*, which should be read in conjunction with Mr. Barr's.

3. Roger Fry must be given credit for speaking out boldly in 1930 in favor of the less obviously pleasing aspects of Matisse's art (*Henri Matisse*, Paris, *Chroniques du Jour*).

4. This is not of course the case with the first book on Matisse, by Marcel Sembat (1920), who was his first French patron and therefore understood the significance of his prewar work.

cribed to a moral predicament: Matisse, it has been implied, grew tired of the unrewarding struggle and decided to exploit his powers to please. But this is not a satisfactory explanation of why a great artist disappoints us with a series of mediocre works. We know, for one thing, that his Nice landscapes caused him just as much trouble as the most intricate decorations for Shchukin's house. Is it not more likely that Matisse felt that the only satisfactory solution for his art was retrenchment, in middle life, after a long stretch of experiment, after bright ideas had been tried out and cast aside? Perhaps he felt that he was edging up to the dangerous cliff of abstraction and must retrace his steps, must renew contact with the sensuous world. Perhaps also (to change the metaphor) he was becoming aware that the wave of the late nineteenth century Renaissance, which up to then had carried him forward from one shattering invention to another, had finally cast him up on the shore, leaving him high and dry, with nothing but his own devices to fall back on. However this may be, he was not the only one to turn his back on his own past inventiveness. His most distinguished colleagues were faced with the same need for repudiation. From the alluring Picassos and Braques of 1925, could we ever deduce (did we not know it) the marvelous blow that Analytical Cubism once delivered to the whole edifice of Western culture? Or from bronzed girls among olives by the sea, could we believe, had we never seen them, that Derain was once capable of those grave still-lifes of 1912? Or from the relaxed figure studies of Juan Gris,⁵ that his early guitars had been so tense? Could we have guessed that Matisse's *jeunes filles en fleurs* had once sprawled, in so dramatic and ungainly a fashion, across their sofas?

The heroic period in Matisse's career, as in the careers of his colleagues, came to an end after the First World War. Up to that time, style followed style with intoxicating rapidity. No sooner have we persuaded ourselves that he has set his sails for a certain course, than he startles us by making for a totally different destination. At the beginning we watch his lonely, laborious, and honorable conquest of the academic manner. At one moment thereafter he is blinded by the sunlight of the south, at the next by the necessity to comment on the social situation.⁶ However, there is no object in going over the ground that Mr. Barr has so conscientiously covered and I have no wish to record the various and by now well known phases through which Matisse passed, except to emphasize the be-

5. The problem of Gris is more complicated: he was much younger than the others, more isolated, and by nature more austere. But if we knew only his work executed during the twenties, his reputation would not stand so high as it does today.

6. Anthony Blunt (in a broadcast talk published in *The Listener*, December 14, 1950) has put forward the view that Matisse's early bronze, *The Serf*, is a comment on the social situation. The same might well be said of some of his paintings of the same period (for example, Barr, p. 307, the serf-like figure in the studio interior).

7. See Gide's remarks on Matisse (quoted by Barr, p. 63), and Matisse's comment on Gide and his friends: "quite a strange

wildering illogicality of his development: how the swinging rhythms are replaced by a more structural style; how his nudes, which seemed to be set for voluptuousness, suddenly begin to creak in the joints. For this, the most surprising fact about his work, a revealing parallel may be drawn from the literature of the period.

It would be absurd to press too far the parallel between Matisse and André Gide. For one thing, in France painters and writers, in this century at least, are seldom closely associated. The two men understood little of each other's profession;⁷ and if as artists they can be said to have met at all, it was on the neutral ground of music, to the purity of which they both aspired. For another thing, Gide as a novelist was concerned with morality, and the hold that both good and evil had over him accounts to a great extent for his *voltes-faces*; in Matisse's case, this factor enters scarcely at all. All the same, it is instructive to recall that they were in fact born within a few weeks of one another⁸ and were brought up in the same kind of bourgeois environment. As adolescents they both had Symbolism, or Synthetism, with which to juggle and contend. Both found in Biskra a necessary refuge. Sex, though their objects of sexual interest were different, figures prominently in both their works. It is not possible to establish a very rigid parallel chronology, but their artistic development is strikingly similar. Matisse's dreamy cliffs at Belle-Ile were encountered on the *Voyage d'Urien*. His unattended invalids pushed back into the recesses of an untidy bedroom, recall the sickroom atmosphere of *Paludes*. His bleak studio interiors echo the melancholy and narcissistic atmosphere of the *Cahiers d'André Walter*. Both men can be observed, around the turn of the century, emerging out of this gloom into the blazing sunlight, the lush and faintly morbid gaiety, in the one case of *Luxe, Calme et Volupté* and in the other of *Les Nourritures Terrestres*.⁹ Just as Gide insinuates *La Porte Etroite* between the *Nourritures* and the *Caves*,¹⁰ so Matisse insinuates his *Blue Nude* between the *fauve* idylls and his *Harmony in Red*. It is possible that both artists grew aware of the dangers of losing track of the rules in their quest for freedom, and found it necessary, every so often, to dam up their lyrical impulses for the purpose of generating new energy.

At the risk of stretching the parallel to snapping-point, we might go on into the following decade (1910-1920) to suggest that Matisse's preoccupation with the

crowd to me" (quoted by Barr, p. 256). However, Matisse's remarks on his own work (1908, Barr, p. 119), about the dangers of contradicting himself, might well have been made by Gide about his.

8. Matisse was born on December 31, Gide on November 22, 1869.

9. In this case, of course, Gide anticipated Matisse by eight years, but we must not forget Matisse's Neo-Impressionist still-lifes of ca. 1899.

10. There is very little trace in Matisse's work of what one might call Proto-Dada, as there is in the *Caves*. I suspect, however, that the Cubist portrait (Barr, p. 402) hints at parody.

mirror-image, and with the "picture within the picture," where one is not always sure what is real and what a shadow of the real¹¹—whether for example we are looking out of a window or at an object on the wall—is equivalent in visual art to the events and shadows of events, to the books within books, to the reality and the mirage that Gide so brilliantly interwove in the *Faux-Monnayeurs*.¹² In the picture reproduced in Barr (p. 413), the model on the couch is not quite a subject for a picture but an idea for a subject and in this sense at one further remove from reality, just as the counterfeit money is an idea for the subject of the novel rather than the subject itself; and the painter in the picture is not a self-portrait, but is removed from identification with his creator by his situation in the studio and by his hieratic pose: is it not legitimate to recognize in him as he gazes at his canvas on the easel, the demure counterpart of Edouard reading over his journal before retiring to bed?¹³ And did not both artists, in this and other examples towards the end of the First World War, allow the subject itself to dwindle to an insignificant dump of studio properties, to the artist's materials that happened to be at hand, in order not to be distracted by, and caught up in, the subject, in order to remain free to concentrate their attention on new ways of representing things?

Gide's creative powers also slumped after his last great novel, and only returned to him in old age. *Thésée* reverts to his early lyrical outbursts, but is by now controlled, just as Matisse's superb late portraits reflect, and comment on, his *fauve* heads. But I see that to pursue the parallel much further would be to fall a victim to the kind of nonsense that Mr. Barr has so scrupulously avoided. However much we may be disappointed that he did not let himself go once or twice in the course of this long and invaluable book, we can but admire his austerity, and marvel at his refusal to be lured into the speculations in which I have been indulging.

BENEDICT NICOLSON
London

The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology (Documents of Modern Art, Vol. 8), ed. by Robert Motherwell, New York, Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1951. Pp. xlvi + 390; 147 illustrations. \$15.00.

Since disorganization is at the base (or anti-base) of dada's style (or anti-style), logical description of its form is not easy; and since diversity, disagreement, and a general state of turmoil are characteristic of dada's history, a coherent account of its evolution runs into difficulties. Indeed, in view of the nature of the beast,

11. A good example of the ambiguity of subject-matter is provided by *The Moroccans* (1916, Barr, pp. 172-173).

12. The problem is complicated by the fact that Gide's novels took several years to complete, but the plans for *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* were laid very soon after Matisse was painting the pictures here described.

it is at least open to question if logic and coherence are what is called for, and whether a lucid exposition of the principles and the methods, of the birth, life, and death of dada would not constitute a fundamental betrayal of that which it sets out to describe. "True dadaists are against Dada." Perhaps this must apply to any sympathetic account of dada, and it remains unreasonable to fit the unreasonable into the modes of reason.

The anthology form is therefore well suited to this book, and as Robert Motherwell has flexibly and sensitively used it here, it preserves all the variety of the dada spirit. This spirit nevertheless achieved a higher concentration and a more pronounced proportion at certain times and in certain places, and it is from these spots, or in reminiscence of them by those who were there, that these documents are assembled. The main centers of dada—Zurich, New York, Barcelona, Berlin, Hanover, Cologne, and Paris—are all represented; and there are contributions from its chief personalities: among the writers, Ball, Huelsenbeck, Tzara, Cravan, Breton, Ribemont-Dessaigne; and the artists, Arp, Duchamp, Picabia, Schwitters, Ernst, and Richter. Among the selections, some are manifestoes of the period—1916 to 1922; some are almost contemporary histories; some are later accounts by the participants of what (according to them) "really" took place during the *temps héroïque*. Included also is the complete text of the history of dada by Georges Hugnet (who just missed taking an active part in dada's last Parisian incarnation), first published by *Cahiers d'art*, and in partial English translation by the Museum of Modern Art (1936).

As editor, Robert Motherwell has allowed the essential texts to speak for themselves, and their authors to contradict and on occasion to insult each other in the true dada manner. Wisely, he has not tried to "give a balanced account of dada." Motherwell has instead devoted his preface to "an effort to fill in some of the gaps . . . left by existing texts." He has notably obtained further information by letter on Hugo Ball, Kurt Schwitters, Jacques Vaché, Picabia, and Blaise Cendrars. And he has ingeniously—by excluding (from the binding) what is also included (as pamphlets), thus performing a typical dada feat of holding fast the undivided middle—arranged to have Huelsenbeck and Tzara carry on their argument on how dada was born and who is to get credit as midwife, and evince their unabated embitterment about its political role down to the present. Motherwell here, as throughout in the selections, has shown evident patience, care, and insight and a true concern to set straight the record of the fact and the history of the spirit. He has produced an essential document. Bernard Karpel contributes his usual

13. Readers of this review will not have missed the significance of the recurrence, after about twenty years, of the novel-in-the-novel, picture-in-the-picture, themes; in the earlier cases (*Paludes*, and Matisse's studio interiors of 1895 to 1902) the atmosphere is of course more introspective, and the fittings cheaper.

excellent and fully annotated bibliography; and the translations of difficult and diverse styles are exceedingly well done.

Most of the 147 illustrations, strategically located from frontispiece to index, remain illustrations of the literary texts, and only rarely become primary visual documents in their own right. At first sight, this stems from their nature and their choice; many of them are covers of dada magazines, such as Picabia's for *Littérature* no. 7 (Paris, 1922), Arp's for *Anthologie Dada* (Zurich, 1917), or Duchamp's for *The Blind Man* (New York, 1917); others are photographs of such crucial moments in dada history as the *Festival* in the Salle Gaveau in May 1920, or period portraits of important members of the movement. Only a portion are of paintings, collages, or constructions primarily aesthetic in intention. (Given their purpose and dada principles, one hesitates to call them works of art.)

On review, it soon becomes clear that this proportion does not grow from the editor's taste, but is necessarily so. Dada is generally thought of as more a literary than a visual movement. It is rather, however, that dada was of such a nature that its permanent manifestations were *neither* literature nor art, but manifestoes which described an attitude. The perfect dada visual production was that drawing done by Picabia before a Paris audience which was erased as fast as it was made—in other words, an activity, not a result. And the works that dada executed in lasting form are either direct transcriptions of an unreflecting attitude into which the artist threw the totality of his being and of the moment (like Arp's collages and reliefs produced by "chance"), or the deliberate upsetting of others' accepted attitudes (like Man Ray's *Gift* of an iron set down the middle with tacks, or the famous Duchamp-Picabia *Mona Lisa* with moustache).

A great deal has been made of dada's negation. This is only natural since the dadaists made so much of it themselves. It is a recurrent theme throughout these pages: "Like everything Dada is useless." "The activity of Dada was a permanent revolt of the individual against art, against morality, against society." "Dada; abolition of logic, which is the dance of those impotent to create: Dada; of every social hierarchy and equation set up for the sake of values by our valets." "The Dadaist considers it necessary to come out against art because he has seen through its fraud as a moral safety valve." Because of such statements, and because the German dadaists (with the exception of Schwitters), in a rather naive and well-meaning fashion, were associated with the revolutionary movements of the immediate postwar period—either fusing dada and politics, as in Berlin, or taking part in the two side by side, as in the Rhineland—dada's desire to destroy the past and its wish to innovate have been stressed, at the expense of its traditional aspects.

These aspects were noted by Jacques Rivière in the *Nouvelle revue française* as early as 1920, when dada had first arrived in Paris. Though Rivière's ultimate

philosophy was opposed to that of the dadaists, he wrote with great understanding of the literary and artistic tradition behind dada, and of the immediate social and human dilemmas of the dadaists themselves. The awareness of tradition is likewise to be found in some of the early dada texts: "Dadaism—a mask play, a burst of laughter?" wrote Hugo Ball in 1917. "And behind it, a synthesis of the romantic, dandyistic and—daemonic theories of the 19th century." Seen from this point of view, dada was but the latest (and perhaps the last) step in a development that had been initiated with romantic beginnings in the eighteenth century and had come down through Baudelaire and Verlaine to the symbolists. At every stage there was an increasing personalization and interiorization of art, which in turn caused an ever-growing identification of the artist with his work, and, on the part of the public and artist, a continually expanding interest in the work as process rather than result. Thus when Delacroix, for example, says that the work of art is a lie, he means that it is a distortion of nature (he is comparing it with the "truth" of the photograph) which conveys an emotional truth. But when Paul Valéry says the same thing, he means that because, to give his work existence, the artist must cast it in the mold of some conventional form, verbal or visual, every work distorts the direct, subjective, emotional truth which was the impulse for its making. The intention of the dada artist is to avoid this distortion, to allow no slip between the lip and the cup, and he professes to do this by unifying art and experience; i.e., by "destroying" the work of art. This is why he is against art (as his predecessors were against "littérature"), and why, insofar as dada itself tends to become a conscious and molding point of view, he must finally be against dada itself. But this is to say that dada is at once the extreme of romanticism and also of (psychological) realism. In this respect it comes out of the nineteenth century as much as it does from the immediate situation of 1914-1918 with which it is usually connected.

In its belief in revolution dada also stems from the nineteenth century. For, in spite of all appearances, dada's nihilism was instrumental rather than fundamental, and its philosophy essentially progressivist. Dada believed in violence as a way to get things done, but it did believe that they could be done and, above all, that the induced change would be for the better. The symbolic suicides of Vaché and Rigaut grew out of despair at inaction rather than out of despair at the uselessness of all action. This is very different from a basic nihilism. In the same way, dada's scepticism of all logic was an optimistic, ultimately Rousseauian belief, an assurance that corruption stemmed from conventions external to the individual. Thus the effort to get back to a direct experience unadulterated by the conventions of society or (what was the same) art was worthwhile. "There was something in the air of ageing Europe that demanded an attempt, by a last effort of the will, deriving its impulse from the knowl-

edge of all cultures and artistic techniques, to return to the old intuitive possibilities, from which, it was realized, the various styles had emanated hundreds of years ago" (Huelsenbeck, 1920).

It is thus not altogether correct to say, as does Huelsenbeck (1949), that dada anticipated existentialism. For existentialism's courage, and its belief in the continual possibility of change through the freedom of the will, is based on profound despair at the essential futility of change. And, besides, existentialism has cast away all Rousseauian illusions concerning the basic goodness of the individual. These differences explain something of that gaiety which is one of the most attractive features of the dada attitude. The bad words, the nose-thumbing gestures in which dada took such delight derive their savor from a surrounding atmosphere of innocence. And with this innocence went optimism.

This point of view also throws some light on the running controversy between Huelsenbeck and Tzara. If art is not to be taken seriously, neither must the artist; obviously, as Huelsenbeck explains, the *Dichter* pose is anathema. And yet when Tzara says, "I consider myself very charming," for all he says it as a dada joke on himself and all the other charmers (artists), there remains the suspicion that he believes it. Thus while each of his acts is a satire on art, their total pattern betrays that self-consciousness which is the supposed butt of the joke. There is constant self-contemplation and the personality of the artist has become the work of art. This is to erect dada into a style, and is profoundly anti-dada. It is perhaps too much to say that this "artistic" tendency may be observed in the whole Parisian branch of the movement and is due to the background of a long classic tradition, while the Germans moved in the direction of politics, mysticism, and psychoanalysis because of the greater directness of their expressionist forerunners. But it is at least worth considering whether Marcel Duchamp, who in this country is thought of as the arch-dada (cf. the recent article in *Life*), is really dada after all. For into the construction of himself as the perfect non-artist—and so the quintessential dada—has gone all the subtlety, the conscious awareness, the aesthetic distance, the balance of part against part—everything that is precisely the opposite of the headlong embrace of dada—that go into the making of a classic work of art.

In conclusion, it is important to note that *The Dada Painters and Poets* is not only indispensable for the understanding of a given moment and attitude in modern art, but also for a grasp of contemporary developments. Much of dada's stress upon spontaneity, much of its uses of the immediate and its embroidery of the gifts of chance have, especially in the United States, become ingredients of the most recent styles of sculpture and painting.

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Queens College

SIEGFRIED GIEDION, *Mechanization Takes Command*,
New York, Oxford University Press, 1948. Pp.
743; 501 illus. \$12.50.

Dr. Giedion's history of mechanization is an entertaining and instructive, fairly well written and very well illustrated book. Its selection of topics is perhaps too personal and in places even arbitrary—the author, as a pioneer in modern architecture and a teacher once connected with the *Bauhaus* movement and Walter Gropius, is mainly concerned with housing and the mechanization of the household—yet it conveys a deep and vivid impression of the irresistible and all-pervading transformation that produced our contemporary mechanized world. Most German books on the origins of the machine age are too speculative and aim at nothing less than a general philosophy of the technical mind, while other books on the subject either restrict themselves to the all too familiar story of inventions and technological improvements since the Industrial Revolution or repeat *ad nauseam* the jeremiads about engineering as a threat to our spiritual culture. Dr. Giedion's approach is both more spontaneous and more liberal; still, it is by no means entirely free from the romantic bias against mechanization, and the indictment of the machine looms behind most of his doubts as to whether our mechanized ways of life do not contradict the "unalterable laws of human nature" (p. v). It is certainly surprising to find this underlying anxiety in a book written with so much care and such knowledge of the subject. But the split between thinking and feeling which the author considers so typical of our age (pp. 720ff.) pervades his own attitude as well and exposes the background of his somewhat hazy idealism even to the casual reader.

For who will fail to recognize the ancestry of ideas like this: "We must establish a new balance between the human body and cosmic forces" (p. 721)? It runs, no doubt, from the Romantics and German Idealism to Carlyle and Ruskin, Bergson and Barrès, Spengler and Keyserling. Dr. Giedion, it is true, reserves such tidbits for his conclusions and climaxes, but the romantic tinge of his thinking is revealed at every turn. He professes romantic views on the Greeks (p. 14), the mediaeval guild system (p. 344), the nineteenth century (pp. 361ff.), the meaning and "devaluation" of symbols (pp. 339, 344f.); he speaks of the "dignity of space" (p. 345) and deplores that a "leap into the unknown" was lacking in the last century (p. 394)—to mention only a few examples. It is this romantic propensity which prevents the author from realizing the extent to which the technical development of the last two hundred years was determined by such factors as capital investment, new markets, prices and wages, the differentiation of society and the class struggle, the formation of new groups of producers and consumers—in a word, by the real forces behind technical efficiency and scientific management. Thus, despite the fact that Dr. Giedion is only too eager to connect the development of technical devices with the practical everyday

life of the people who invented and used them, his description of the historic background is much more in the nature of a pictorial sketch than of an exploration of the soil from which these developments sprang.

Dr. Giedion seems to be quite aware of at least some of the shortcomings of his book, and he frankly declines to concern himself with those basic problems which one would expect him to tackle before anything else: "The history of nineteenth-century ruling taste, with the sociological and emotive documentation it would need, is still waiting to be written. Here we have merely drawn out fragments indicating the power of mechanization over man" (p. 385). Fragments indeed they are, but, even so, Dr. Giedion could have increased their documentary value considerably had he connected them with man as a real social being; surely the present state of technology owes less to our preoccupation with theoretical problems than it does to our perennial struggle with questions of life and death, of material survival, economic predominance, and social influence. In a later section of his book, the author writes: "We have tried to assemble fragments of the anonymous history of our period. The searchlight has fallen on scattered facts and facets, leaving vast stretches of darkness between. The complexes of meaning thus arising have not been explicitly linked" (p. 714). The concept of "anonymous history" represents the core of Dr. Giedion's philosophy of history, which is the most vulnerable part of his argument. What he understands by "anonymous history" seems to derive from something like Woelflin's "history of art without names," that is to say, the doctrine that artistic developments are essentially independent of the individuals in whose works they are embodied. According to this view, individual artists are no more than the bearers and exponents of such impersonal tendencies, which follow their own autonomous and immanent laws, their own logic, and their own aims. Now it is hardly surprising that a man of Dr. Giedion's romantic bias should find himself in sympathy with a formalist doctrine that demands the surrender of the human personality to supra-individual powers. What is much harder to understand is that even the down-to-earth subject of the present volume has not swayed the author from his belief. Indeed, it seems to have confirmed his assumption that there are areas of human activity which are directed by supra-individual forces, and that technical devices and the applied arts (furniture, ceramics, ornament), being more uniform in character and apparently more closely related to man as a member of a community, are also more nearly anonymous in origin than the fine arts.

But this is, in essence, the old romantic fallacy about the anonymity of folk art in a new guise. To assume that there is anything like the impersonal spirit of a social group or historic period, the mind of a nation or a "folk soul," an autonomous *Zeitgeist*, or any such supra-individual entity, is the worst kind of metaphysics. Just as there is no individual who is not a member of a society and who does not express a specific historic condition, so there can be no society and no historic form

of existence that is not embodied in individuals. The only concrete psychological reality is the individual; no social impulse, force, ability, or necessity can be expressed otherwise than through the agency of individuals, and there are no institutions or folkways, no languages or religions, no technical devices or works of art that are created by a common, collective faculty—by collective improvisation. In this respect, there is no difference in principle between the *Night Watch* and a chair or a car, between a work of art of the highest order and the most commonplace tool.

Considering Dr. Giedion's past activities and present interests, one would expect him to keep a constant eye on the relationship of art and technics, and to be concerned above all with the technical-mindedness of our own generation as expressed in contemporary art. Yet there are hundreds of pages in this book which give no hint of the author's interest in anything but chairs and locks, kitchens and baths, slaughtering and cooking. In fact, he does not even touch upon the basic problem of art from a technical point of view—the inextricable combination of an instrument and an experience, a means of expression and an expressive urge, a technical device and a spiritual need. This is indeed no book on "Technics and Art," nor is it an attempt to link the characteristics of modern art with our delight in technical resources, our sense of the beauty of the machine, our thinking in terms of motion, speed records, functional directness, and structural barenness. There are a few highly informative, if not very original, pages on the parallel interest in movement at the beginning of the century in technology and art, i.e., the inquiries into industrial work processes and the representation of motion in futurist painting (pp. 106-7); and there are some extremely revealing observations on the connection between Paul Klee's graphic studies in the dynamics of movement and the time-and-motion study charts prepared by industrial engineers (pp. 109-13). The analysis of the art of Paul Klee certainly belongs to the most successful parts of the book, although the significance of the artist is probably overrated. But this is understandable enough if we recall Klee's and Giedion's common interest in the *Bauhaus*.

These very pages, however, remind us of one of the most annoying omissions in Dr. Giedion's book, that is, his failure to discuss what could have been the central problem of his investigation: the degree to which recent technological developments may be held responsible for the stylistic change from naturalism to impressionism and abstractionism. This, the most significant event in the history of contemporary art, ought to be the core of any serious effort to interpret the present situation of our culture. But Dr. Giedion does not even attempt to inquire into the connection between modern technics and Impressionism, i.e., the awareness of living in an age of movement, speed, change, transition, and the expression of this kind of experience in art. We find nothing here about the relationship of photography and the exploration of movement in Impressionist painting; about the effect of living in the mechanized world of

a modern city and knowing the unsteady, fleeting moment, of being pushed into a uniform crowd while feeling desperately alone with one's own moods and velleities. There is no reference to the incessant transformation of our concepts of time and space in the past hundred and fifty years, to the discovery of creative historical time by Romanticism, of corrupting psychological time by Naturalism, of the relativity of *durée* by Impressionism, or of the new continuity of time-space by Expressionism and Surrealism, even though all these experiences developed under the impact of the Industrial Revolution and its technical achievements, especially in locomotion and communication.

It may not be quite fair to blame an author for what he has failed to do, instead of acknowledging his actual contribution. But if this is true of the omissions mentioned above, it is hardly true of the following. Apart from one or two short references, Dr. Giedion never speaks of the film, and this is no longer a matter that could be left to his choice, whatever his evaluation of it. An author who attempts to tell the story of mechanization and neglects to deal with the cinema does not realize the full implications of his subject. For nothing expresses so completely the mechanized character of the world around us as the invention of the film and its role in the daily routine of our lives. It means the mechanization of our leisure, of our entertainments, our artistic experiences, daydreams, phantasies, ideals, of our conception of beauty and success in life. It means the end of an era in which a work of art was synonymous with something unique, unrepeatable, irreplaceable. We are now entering a new epoch, an epoch whose creative power will be tested, among other things, by our ability to think, to feel, to produce and enjoy works of art in terms of types, reproducible patterns, mechanized procedures, mass production, and mass consumption—an epoch that will have to decide, consciously or unconsciously, upon a more extensive application of mechanized methods to the production of art.

ARNOLD HAUSER
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TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

At the last session of the College Art Association a small group of scholars met to discuss various problems connected with the investigation of relationships between Renaissance and antique art, as well as their systematic documentation. A "Census of Antique Works of Art Known to Renaissance Artists" was started several years ago under the sponsorship of the Warburg Institute of the University of London. The Warburg Institute, in a number of photographic campaigns, has gathered valuable material on Renaissance sketchbooks and on Renaissance collections of antique works of art. At the same time, work on individual topics has been carried on in this country.

In preliminary discussions, general information was exchanged concerning such individual research pro-

jects; among the studies reported were: Ghiberti and the Antique (R. Krautheimer), the antique sources of Mantegna's *Parnassus* (P. W. Lehmann), Titian in Rome (R. W. Kennedy), the collection of ancient works of art known in the Middle Ages (W. S. Heckscher), the history of the Medici collections in Florence (C. Kennedy), the history and influence of the equestrian Marcus Aurelius (L. Moeller), and the sketchbooks of Amico Aspertini after antique monuments (P. P. Bober).

It is realized that many scholars throughout the country may be engaged in studies which relate to this general field of interest or supervising students' work on particular problems bearing on Renaissance-and-Antiquity. Clearly, mutual benefit could be derived from a wider pooling of such information on work in progress. I am writing, therefore, to invite those concerned to communicate with us. Please describe, so far as possible, the specific topic of research and indicate its stage of advancement. We hope to solicit similar intelligence from European scholars and, if the response justifies, to issue an annual newsletter. In any case, it will prove useful to have a central "clearing house" through which persons working on related problems may be put in touch with one another.

Please address communications to

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SIR:

The Italian Committee for the Fifth Centenary of Leonardo da Vinci has organized a series of celebrations which opened on April 15, 1952, and will extend over the year from that date.

The main feature is a Leonardo Exhibition in Milan, located in the transformed monastery of San Vittore which is intended to house the new Museum of Science and Technology.

The Italian Committee is endeavoring to locate all the vast material relating to Leonardo scattered throughout the world. A special committee has been formed at their request in this country, called *The Friends of the Leonardo Exhibition*, charged with locating Leonardo material available in the United States and forwarding the information to the central committee in Milan.

Any person or institution in possession of drawings or original documents by or concerning Leonardo, or owning a collection of studies and reference works relating primarily to Leonardo, is requested to communicate directly with the American Committee, Room 189, Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

FRIENDS OF THE LEONARDO
EXHIBITION IN MILAN
Giorgio de Santillana,
Secretary

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

BANDMANN, GÜNTER, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1952. Pp. 276; 36 figs.; 16 pls. DM 26.00.

BANGE, E. F., *Die Deutschen Bronzestatuetten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1949. Pp. 328; 289 ills. DM 25.00.

BONZI, MARIO, *Saggi sul Magnasco*, Genoa, Mario Bonzi, 1947. Pp. 38; 6 ills.

BRUHNS, LEO, *Die Kunst der Stadt Rom*, Vienna, Anton Schroll, 1951. 2 vols.; pp. 662; 460 pls. \$29.00.

CLARK, SIR KENNETH, *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1952. Pp. 204; 68 pls. \$7.00.

DIEHL, GASTON, *Vermeer*, New York, Macmillan Co. (Hyperion), 1952. Pp. 48; 32 ills. \$0.59.

DOWNING, ANTOINETTE F., and VINCENT J. SCULLY, JR., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, 1640-1915*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 241; 230 pls. \$18.50.

DOWNS, JOSEPH, *American Furniture, Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods*, New York, Macmillan Co., 1952. Pp. 36; 410 pls. \$17.50.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, vi, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 251; 36 ills. \$7.50.

FRANCSTEL, PIERRE, *Peinture et société*, Paris, Bordas, 1951. Pp. 298; 48 ills.

FRÄNGER, WILHELM, *The Millennium of Hieronymus Bosch*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952. Pp. 164; 22 pls. \$10.00.

FRAUENFELDER, REINHARD, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Schaffhausen, I: Die Stadt Schaffhausen*, Basel, Verlag Birkhäuser, 1951. Pp. 484; 630 ills. 60.30 Swiss francs.

GABRIEL, MABEL M., *Masters of Campanian Painting*, New York, H. Bittner, 1952. Pp. 66; 10 figs.; 35 pls. \$12.00.

Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis, XIII, 1951, Antwerp, Uitgeverij de Sikkel, 1952. Pp. 284; 90 ills. 350 Belgian francs.

GROSSER, MAURICE, *The Painter's Eye*, New York, Rinehart, 1952. Pp. 244; 32 ills. \$3.00.

HAUTECOEUR, LOUIS, *Le Style Louis XVI, 1750-1792 (Histoire de l'architecture classique en France, t. 4)*, Paris, Picard, 1952. Pp. 577; 356 ills.

JANSON, H. W., *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XX), London, Warburg Institute, 1952. Pp. 384; 30 figs.; 56 pls. £3 3s.

KAR, CHINTAMONI, *Indian Metal Sculpture*, London, Alec Tiranti, 1952. Pp. 46; 61 pls. 7s 6d.

KARLGREN, BERNHARD, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred E. Pillsbury Collection*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1952. Pp. 228; 114 pls. \$25.00.

KLIGER, SAMUEL, *The Goths in England: a Study in 17th and 18th Century Thought*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 304. \$5.00.

KRIS, ERNST, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*, New York, International Universities Press, 1952. Pp. 358; 79 ills. \$7.50.

Leonardo da Vinci, *Landscapes and Plants*, edited by Ludwig Goldscheider, New York, Garden City Books (Phaidon), 1952. Pp. 18; 14 figs. 71 pls. \$5.95.

LORING, ROSAMUND B., *Decorated Book Paper*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 171; 17 figs. \$3.75.

LUCAS, E. LOUISE, *The Harvard List of Books on Art*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 163. \$2.25.

Modern Artists in America, I, edited by Robert Motherwell and Ad Reinhardt, documentation by Bernard Karpel, New York, Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1951. Pp. 198; ills. \$5.50.

MORANZ, JOHN, *The Professional Guide to Drawing and Illustration*, New York, Grossett and Dunlap, 1952. Pp. 400; ills. \$4.95.

MOREHEAD, J. C., and JAMES C. MOREHEAD, JR., *Perspective Drawings*, Houston, Elsevier Press, 1952. Pp. 168; 82 ills. \$6.00.

PELLETIER, JEAN, *Delacroix*, New York, Macmillan Co. (Hyperion), 1952. Pp. 48; 38 ills. \$0.59.

PHILIPPE-LUCET, A., *Rubens*, New York, Macmillan Co. (Hyperion), 1952. Pp. 48; 39 ills. \$0.59.

Prehistoric Stone Sculpture of the Pacific Northwest, Exhibition Catalogue, edited by Paul S. Wingert, Portland, Ore., Art Museum, 1952. Pp. 34; 42 ills.

RICE, D. TALBOT, *English Art, 871-1100* (The Oxford History of English Art), New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. 280; 96 pls. \$10.00.

ROWLAND, BENJAMIN, JR., *The Harvard Outline and Reading Lists for Oriental Art*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 64. \$1.50.

SALZMAN, L. F., *Building in England, down to 1540*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. 629; 22 ills. \$12.50.

SCHLOSSER, IGNAZ, *Venezianer Gläser*, Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 1951. Pp. 12; 48 pls.

STILLWELL, RICHARD, *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, II: The Theatre*, Princeton, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952. Pp. 142; 103 figs.; 8 pls. \$10.00.

STONE, LOUISE HAWLEY, *The Chair in China*, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, 1952. Pp. 49; 30 pls. \$2.00.

STRUPPECK, JULES, *The Creation of Sculpture*, New York, Henry Holt, 1952. Pp. 260. 277 ills. \$6.95.

TAILLANDIER, YVON, *Giotto*, New York, Macmillan Co. (Hyperion), 1952. Pp. 48; 34 ills. \$0.59.

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TROLL, SIEGFRIED, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 1952. Pp. 16; 46 pls.

TSCHAN, FRANCIS J., *Saint Bernward of Hildesheim*, Notre Dame, Ind., University of Notre Dame Press, 1952. 3 vols.; pp. 738; 12 figs.; 268 pls. \$15.50.

WEYL, HERMANN, *Symmetry*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. 168; 72 figs. \$3.75.

Wiener Porzellan aus der Manufaktur Du Paquier, 1718-1744, Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, 1952. Pp. 19; 56 pls.

WITTKOWER, RUDOLF, *Bernini, the Bust of Louis XIV*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. 19; 1 pl. \$0.75.

ERRATUM: In footnote 9 to Professor Meyer Schapiro's review of Professor Kurt Weitzmann's book on *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (THE ART BULLETIN, June 1952, p. 149), the words "reprinted in *Perspectives U.S.A.*, 1, no. 1, 1952" were inserted through an error on the part of the editor and should be deleted.

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